

Historic, archived document

Do not assume content reflects current scientific knowledge, policies, or practices.

DS894
.28
.D86D86
1991

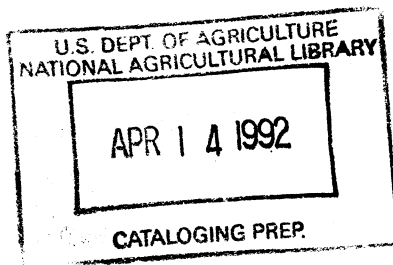
農・畜産関係お雇い外国人教師研究モノグラフ 1

Edwin Dun:

Reminiscences of Nearly Half a Century in Japan

(翻刻)

西	出	公	之
川	端		喬
梅	津		勝
梅	津	一	孝



まえがき

ここに翻刻したのは、Reminiscences of Nearly a Half Century in Japan と題された Edwin Dun の回想録である。

元の原稿は故高倉新一郎氏が所蔵されていたと聞くが、我々が翻刻するにあたって利用できたのは、「ダンと町村記念事業協会」所蔵の電子複写である。一部不鮮明な箇所については、北海道大学附属図書館北方資料室所蔵の電子複写を参照した。

Reminiscences of Nearly a Half Century in Japan は、高倉新一郎氏が邦訳し、昭和37年に『日本における半世紀の回想』の題でエドウィン・ダン顕彰会から出版されているが、その英語版は出版されていない。

原稿は、大部分タイプされており、読みにくいわけではないが、独特の分かち書き、タイピングの誤りなども多く、人名・地名の表記が標準的でない場合もある。また、意味は取れるものの、文法的には非文と言わざるを得ないようなものも散見される。我々は、ダンが出版するとすれば、当然修正したであろうような点を正したエディションを刊行することを計画しているが、まず、資料として頁・行などの体裁をそのままに翻刻しようと考えた。それが本冊子である。

翻刻にあたっては、明らかなミススペリングや、タイピング・エラーを正し、日本人名や日本の地名は標準的な表記に直したが、独特の分かち書きと破格構文については、そのままにした。なお、原文には無いがどうしても必要と思われる前置詞などは、[] を付けて補った。また、疑問があるものの修正しにくいところは、[sic] と記し、今回はそのままにしておいた。

本翻刻は、平成2年度の文部省科学研究費補助金一般研究Bを受けて行なわれている「農・畜産関係の開拓使お雇い外国人教師の技術指導に関する実証的事例研究——報文および書簡などの翻刻を中心とする書誌的整備と技術移転についての考察——」（研究代表者：川端喬）の成果の一部である。

平成2年11月11日

西 出 公 之
川 端 喬
梅 津 勝
梅 津 一 孝

REMINISCENCES OF NEARLY A HALF CENTURY IN JAPAN.

by EDWIN DUN

Former United States Minister to Tokyo.

In the early seventies my father, his three brothers and one sister were large land owners in central Ohio. Owning among them about 15,000 acres of, perhaps, the finest "blue grass land" to be found outside of Kentucky. Their business was, in general, the handling of live stock - cattle, sheep, and hogs - for the eastern markets, but also, in particular, the rearing of thorough bred "Short Horn" cattle, horses, pigs and sheep for the improvement of their own herds and for sale to other breeders.

To supply winter food for their herds it was necessary to keep a large part of their estates under cultivation and the extent of their business required the most up to date methods in agriculture and breeding practiced at that time, to insure success.

For reasons unnecessary^S to mention, I left school - Springfield Ohio, New Brighton Pa. and last Miami University at Oxford Ohio, - at the age of eighteen and joined my father in the management of his business. My elder brother, James, having chosen civil engineering as his profession for which he proved himself eminently fitted. For twenty five years he filled the post of Chief Engineer of the A.T. & S.F. Railway system. And at the time of death - 1909 - was consulting engineer to that great railway system.

From 1866 until 1873 my occupation was stock farming in all its branches. For some years I was with my father, for two years with my uncle Walter whose estate was devoted to the rearing of "Short Horns" and race horses. He had \$100,000 invested in the latter and his stable was well represented and well known at all the principal race meetings throughout

the west as well as at some of the big meetings in the east.

From 1871 I was mostly engaged in the live stock business on my own account and in partnership with my cousin, Allen W. Thurman of Columbus, son of Senator A.G. Thurman, one of the most prominent men in the United States at that time and for many years after. I loved the business for which I was well equipped and the independent outdoor life that was a part of it. At that time central Ohio was a paradise for the sportsman. The fields were alive with quail and the wood-lands with wild turkeys, ruffed grouse and other game. As my brother, self and many cousins were brought up from childhood to consider shooting and fishing the only recreations worthy of a boy's spare time, I naturally spent the greater part of my leisure in the fields and forests with dog and gun. As the greater part of the land was still in virgin blue grass and the enclosed pastures were very large, often 1,000 acres or more in extent, it was easy to make one's way on a trained horse for ten or more miles in almost any direction without much regard for public highways.

In my father's and uncle's families there were more than twenty young people who, together with the old folks, formed quite a social colony of their own. And as many relatives from far and near came as visitors during the summer and autumn months, "Dun Plains", as our neighborhood was called, was the scene of almost daily or nightly festivities: Dinners, dancing and riding parties. Even the cold nights of winter were merry with the jingle of sleigh bells and jolly gatherings around the great log fires at one or the other of our homes. My father and his brothers and sisters were born and grew up on my grandfather's estate near Lexington, Kentucky. My mother came from Norfolk, Virginia. We looked on life and lived it in a different way from the families of neighboring land owners and, although the hospitality of our homes was free to all and bed and board gladly

given to the stranger, our intercourse with them was limited to what kindly feeling and courtesy demanded. Our ways in business matters were also different. While keen traders in big things we left the small trading of the farm to our tenants. For instance, should a neighbor want ten bushels of seed corn or wheat or oats, he was told to go to the crib or bin and help himself. Should he want a young boar or ram he was told to select the one he most fancied. When payment was offered, he was invited in to sample our Bourbon and the clink of glasses squared the account. When twice a day the calves had all the milk they could hold, the cows, to the number of thirty or forty had to be milked. After the requirements of the household was supplied, the remainder of the milk was free to any one who might want it and what remained, if any, was given to the pigs to swill.

The waste resulting from such a lordly way of farming was very great and as the country grew in population the thrifty methods of the small farmer, mostly tenants of the large land owners, could only result in the enrichment of the former at the expense of the latter. Still the rapid increase in the value of land, the superior knowledge of my father and his brothers and their better equipment for farm work enabled them to hold their own until the great depression in all business enterprises which was first felt, if I remember correctly in 1871 crippled all who had money invested in business enterprises.

We all had borrowed money invested, well secured by our lands, but as the depression continued, were doing business for years on falling markets. The tenant went into his hole and lived on what he raised, used parched rye for coffee and sorghum molasses or maple sugar for sweets. Having little money invested in live stock he passed through the dark days with little loss. But with the large land owner whose capital and credit were invested in the live stock business the consequences were disastrous in the extreme. My father and his brothers came out in much better shape than many

others but were burdened with mortgages on their land that to say the least were very inconvenient to carry. As for myself I had been doing business on my account for two years when the cyclone struck us and by good luck as well as by hard work, had managed to accumulate a very considerable sum on the right side of my account. But it was all, with borrowed capital invested, in cattle and in the spring of 1873 when I had sold the last hoof, I found myself with but a few hundred dollars that I could call my own.

HOW I WENT TO JAPAN.

In 1871 the Kaitakushi (Colonization Department of Hokkaido) was organized by the Japanese government. Its object was the development of Hokkaido, the big northerly island of the Empire. Its mineral resources, its agriculture, its fisheries, forests, etc. with the end in view of inducing settlers from the mainland to go there. While at that time there were towns and villages around the entire coast of the island and Hakodate was an important port and commercial city of the Empire, the interior was known only to the Ainu or primitive settlers. There were no roads or other means of communication with the interior and the dense growth of scrub bamboo that covered the highlands rendered progress on horse back or even on foot difficult. It is true there are some rivers, particularly the Ishikari and Tokachi and, in a less degree, some others which are navigable for many miles inland for small boats. But there was no inducement for settlers to utilize this means of penetrating the interior and making homes there. The fisheries were the only profitable enterprise that Hokkaido offered at that time. Thousands of men from northern Japan proper spent the season at the many fishery stations on the Hokkaido coast and returned to their homes when cold weather set in.

In addition to the development of the natural wealth of Hokkaido for the use of their increasing southern population, the government had in view the defence of the island from possible seizure and occupation by Japan's northern neighbor (Russia) already well established near by and whose ambition was to secure ice free ports as outlets for trade and for military purposes.

In view of the conditions briefly stated the government established the Kaitakushi to continue for ten years from the beginning of 1872. General Kuroda Kiyotaka was appointed governor with almost supreme control in all matters pertaining [to] the new department. A liberal sum was set apart by the government to carry out the work in view, which was paid in yearly installments into the Kaitakushi treasury. The Kaitakushi was not accountable for the expenditure of this sum to the central government.

Early in 1872 General Kuroda, accompanied by a considerable party visited Washington and consulted General Grant, then president, in regard to securing the services of a staff of experts to assist in the Hokkaido development work. Two were recommended by General Grant himself and, of course, were engaged. One of these was Gen. Horace Capron, who at the time of his selection was U.S. Commissioner of Agriculture at Washington. The other presidential selection was Captain Wasson U.S.A. General Capron was selected to fill the post of general Adviser to the Kaitakushi, Captain Wasson to be chief of the trigonometrical survey to be made of the island. He was afterwards superseded by Lieut. Murray S. Day U.S.N. The other members of the staff were selected on the recommendation of well known authorities in their various lines. They were Dr. Antisell, physician and chemist, Mr. B.S. Lyman, geologist and mining engineer, Mr. Shelton agriculturist, Mr. L. Boehmer, horticulturist and Mr. Holt, millwright and machinist.

In May, 1873, the Kaitakushi, by that time fairly well started sent to the United States for quite a large number of thoroughbred Durham

or "Short Horns" cows and heifers for breeding purposes. Several bulls of that breed had already been imported. This order was placed in the hands of Mr. A.C. Capron, a commission merchant of Chicago, and son of General Capron, to fill.

Mr. Capron came to "Dun Plains" to get what was wanted and I was delegated by my father and uncles to show him our herds of Short Horns and to assist him in selecting a herd best suited to the requirements of the Japanese. We got together a fine lot, about eighty, of young cows and heifers all of which had either had calves or were with calf. By arrangements, I agreed to deliver the lot at the Chicago Stock Yards on a certain date. This was done and after the conclusion of our business Mr. Capron and I dined together at the Stock Yard Hotel. During our dinner Mr. Capron informed me he had another commission to fill in which I might be able to assist him. It was to secure the services of some one well up in live stock breeding and handling as well as a practical farmer experienced in up to date methods in the United States, to take the place of Mr. Shelton who had resigned. After many questions had been asked by me and answered by Mr. Capron to the best of his ability, I asked him if he thought I would be a suitable person to undertake the job. He at once replied that he had had me in mind for the place ever since we had first met, but had been afraid to make the proposition before our other business was concluded, as he felt almost certain that what he had to offer was not good enough to induce me to give up my home and prospects there for a job of unknown requirements on the other side of the globe. I replied that while the salary offered was not princely it was more than sufficient to cover living expenses while away and, owing to the business depression in the United States, which in all probability would continue for another year or more, I would lose nothing by leaving home at that time and, as his proposition offered an excellent opportunity to see Japan I was prepared to accept it for one year provided a first class return to America was

included in my contract. This he said was provided for in his instructions which he showed me. We then and there made a memo of contract which both of us signed. I further volunteered to assist him in the shipment of his live stock to San Francisco and to take charge of at least a part of them across the Pacific.

Our agreement was concluded on a Friday evening in May. I wired home that evening "am leaving for Japan Monday morning will be home tomorrow pack my trunk". I reached home Saturday morning and, of course, found my father, mother, brothers and sisters in considerable commotion. However, I persuaded them to look upon my going to Japan as I then considered it myself, more of a lark than as a permanent change. Saturday and Sunday I took leave of my uncles, aunts and cousins, all of whom looked upon my expedition rather as a joke than as a business enterprise. They bid me a laughing good bye with many good wishes for a safe crossing of the Pacific which was not looked upon in those days as the safe matter of course that it is now. On Monday I took leave of all at home and did not see them again for ten years.

EN ROUTE FOR JAPAN.

On Tuesday I joined Mr. Capron who informed me that twenty more cows and one hundred South Down sheep, ordered from Canada, had arrived and all arrangements to ship our live stock the next day were completed. A train of fourteen cars was required for this purpose. The young man who brought the Canadian consignment agreed to help us as far as Ogden.

We made a good start on May 16th and as facilities for feeding were good and [sic] until we reached Omaha we had a comparatively easy time of it until we left that place. At that time Omaha was about the end of civilization going west. It was the most abominable mud hole that one could imagine. Located on the black alluvium of the Missouri River bottom, the streets were as nature made them. They were a horror of mud three feet deep

and in places, holes, into which it was death for man or beast to stumble. It had been raining for a week or ten days before our arrival and all traffic in the so called city was at a standstill. The only vehicles of transport that I saw were wagons drawn by six or eight yoke of oxen. These long strings of cattle were to be seen, floundering up to their bellies in mud, from the river up to and along the principal streets of the town. When I next saw Omaha ten years later there was nothing left to recall my first experience there. Asphalt, wood and stone replaced the horrid mud, and streets of handsome buildings the wooden shanties that were before.

From Omaha on our real troubles began. The railway yards into which live stock could be unloaded, fed and reloaded were few and far between. All the way across the plains they were, on an average, about twenty four hours run apart. As the weather was getting warm, the cattle suffered greatly, especially for want of water. In Wyoming we ran into a wash out, about one fourth of a mile of track having been washed away by what is called in that region a "cloud burst". Here we were delayed twenty four hours with a train of famishing cattle and sheep on our hands. They must have water or die. So we secured buckets from the engine and started in to water them by hand from the ditches along side of the track which fortunately were full of rain water. As the only experienced stock man in the party I was unanimously elected to go inside and deal out the water. Knowing what to expect some train hands had been engaged and armed with long stout poles to keep the beasts from crowding upon me. But for this precaution I would have been crushed to a jelly. As it was I was kicked, horned, bruised in numberless places and covered with filth by famished beasts crowding upon me. The cattle were loose in the cars and, of course, all made a rush for the water. When the first car was finished we tackled the second and so on, until the twelve car loads of cattle were satisfied. The two cars of sheep gave little trouble. We were ten hours on the job.

It was the most trying physical experience that I ever met with. For days after I was so stiff that it was painful to move at all, but the care of the cattle required constant attention and there was no one to take my place. We were three days from Chicago to Omaha and sixteen days from Omaha to San Francisco, nineteen days in all.

The unloading of the stock pens usually occurred at night and often it was long after midnight before feeding and watering was finished and we could seek a few hours rest at the station hotel if there happened to be one at that particular place. If not at some low-down saloon restaurant and gambling place, run for the accommodation of cow boys and less respectable residents of the plains. At one such place, if I remember correctly, Cheyenne, we were forced to retreat backwards to the outlet with the business ends of our revolvers covering a drunken lot of scoundrels who insisted upon our making a night of it with them. They were men who understood the persuasive influence of a 44 cal. Navy and recognized that we were worked up to the point of shooting up the entire premises if further molested. This occurred at about two a.m. When we got out of the den we made for the station hotel about 300 yards distant, which had been closed for hours. Being angry, hungry and miserable generally we kicked the door until the night watchman finally let us in after much explanation and bad language had passed through the door. On his refusal to get us any thing to eat we told him he could either take a \$5 bill for doing so or we would take him with us, look up the pantry and help ourselves for nothing. He concluded that the \$5 bill was the best policy, made us hot coffee and gave us a spread of cold meats, bread and butter that appealed to me as one of the finest spreads of good things I had ever encountered.

While on the way the train men had, of course, no use for their sleeping bunks in the caboose of the train and kindly permitted us the use of them. The run of each crew was from one stock yard to the next

and when our cars were placed at the unloading chutes, the engine, caboose and crew left, to be replaced by a new crew next morning.

At that time the plains were for hundreds of miles at a stretch almost entirely [un]inhabited. Occasionally the buildings and corralls of a cattle ranch would be seen, also herds of cattle and occasionally a few buffalo migrating northwards. Beyond this only herds of antelope and numberless jack rabbits.

At Ogden our Canadian friend left us. He had proved to be a good fellow and valuable assistant and help through all of our troubles. From there on, although short handed we got along with little trouble as the railway facilities for handling live stock en route were much better than before.

At San Francisco we turned our charge over to the Japanese Consular authorities who had made arrangements for their keep and shipment across the Pacific.

We had got through without the loss of a single head, in fact the herd was added to by the birth of a calf en route which grew up to be a fine cow in Japan. But it was more by good fortune than good management that we succeeded so well. Before leaving Chicago I told Mr. Capron that each cow and heifer should have a place to itself in the cars where they could, if necessary, be fed and watered without difficulty. I pointed out that they were too valuable to be handled as beef cattle were handled. But all arrangements for the shipment had been made and it was thought too late by Mr. Capron to change. As I was only a volunteer I had nothing further to say, but had I known of the troubles ahead of us, I would not have undertaken the job for an extra year's salary.

At Frisco I met my cousin and old school mate, Alfred Dun, whom I found to be thoroughly competent in showing me the town. I also met Mr. Ralston, president of the Bank of California and the great financial magna-

te of the West at that time. I had a letter of introduction to him from my uncle, Senator Thurman of Ohio.

Mr. Yanagiya, a well known member of the Tokio Club today was at that time Japanese Consul at San Francisco. He secured one of the best rooms obtainable at the Grand Hotel for my accommodation, of course on account of the Japanese Government and left instructions to charge extras of every description to the same account.

I arrived at San Francisco June 4th and remained there until June 17th. Being in such good hands I had a delightful time of it for nearly two weeks. All the more enjoyable after the nineteen days of the worst kind of roughing it just before.

On June 17th, one half of the cattle and all of the sheep were shipped on board the P.M. side wheel steamer "Great Republic" of about 5,000 tons burden. I was furnished transportation on the same steamer and again volunteered to see that the live stock was properly looked after. This duty required only general supervision on my part. The officers of the ship saw to it that my instructions in regard [to] feeding etc. were carried out.

The Great Republic was one of the most comfortable boats I have ever traveled in. Her paddles gave her great beam and prevented rolling. Captain Howard, her commander, took the direct course from Frisco to Yokohama, passing within sight of the Mid Way Islands. We were favored with charming weather and smooth sea all the way, arriving at Yokohama July 9th in the quick time for those days, of twenty two days from San Francisco.

The "Great Republic" and her sister ship "Japan" and the "America" composed the trans-Pacific liners of the P.M. co. at that time. Shortly after my arrival the "America" was burnt to the waters edge in Yokohama harbor with the loss, in life of six or eight hundred Chinese coolies returning home from California. The "Japan" was also lost by fire

a few years later at Shanghai, if I remember right. In the spring of 1884 I saw the bones of the "Great Republic" at the mouth of the Columbia river where she was wrecked in trying to get in.

WHAT I FOUND IN JAPAN

I was met at Yokohama by Kaitakushi officials who had arranged for the unloading of the live stock. Within a few hours of landing I was accompanied to Tokio by way of the railway opened a few months before. I was taken directly to the head office of the Kaitakushi, in Shiba park where I was very kindly received by General Kuroda and other high officials of the department. After confirming my provisional contract and receiving my verbal report in regard to the live stock, I was driven by Mr. Dzushio, afterwards governor of Hokkaido under General Kuroda, to the quarters that had been prepared for me and which I occupied until two years later, I took up my permanent residence at Sapporo Hokkaido. I found my quarters very comfortable indeed, consisting of a frame house of four good sized rooms, a kitchen, servant quarters, bath room, etc. I found a cook and boy waiting to receive me and an ample store of edibles and drinkables ready for use.

Up to this time I had not seen one of my American colleagues but soon after I had settled down Mr. Louis Boehmer, the horticulturist came to see me and from that time friendship was formed between us that lasted until his death many years afterwards. Boehmer had arrived the year before and was fairly well acquainted with the situation. The information and advice he gave me was of great immediate service to me.

To forward the Hokkaido enterprise the Kaitakushi, by the advice of General Capron established a large and very expensive intermediate station at Tokio, consisting of an experimental farm with barns and corrals for the reception of live stock. Also horticultural grounds of 150 acres in extent for the growing and distribution of all kinds of

foreign fruits and vegetables together with green houses for tropical flowers. The premises included the land now occupied by the Red Cross hospital and south to the tramway. From the present Red Cross premises it extended north west, including the Presbyterian school and mission grounds of today and, from them, across the main Aoyama road for a distance of half a mile or more.

From the horticulture department over two millions of foreign fruit trees and vines were distributed throughout the main island (sic) of Japan and it is from this source that the foreign fruit we get today comes.

The expense of keeping up such an enormous establishment was very great and, owing to difference in climate, soil and almost all other conditions, it was practically of no value in connection with the colonization and development of the natural resources of Hokkaido.

My house was near the center of the farm of about fifty acres in area. Upon arrival I found a long row of expensive barns and stables, the plans of which were furnished by General Capron, located in about the most unhealthy spot that could have been found in that part of Tokio. The place was so bad and the reports of sickness among the cattle and horses already there were so convincing that I declined to be responsible if the animals brought over by me were placed there. My protest was so strong that the Japanese officials under my direction, built open sheds near where the main Red Cross hospital building now stands to accommodate the live stock. Fortunately General Capron was in Hokkaido at the time and as he was not referred to in the matter I had no opposition from that quarter.

All kinds of the most expensive agricultural machinery had been imported. In taking stock I found threshing machines capable of threshing out 1,000 bushels of grain per day; self binding reapers that could cut twenty acres of grain per day; mowing machines, gang plows; corn planters and innumerable smaller machines and implements, the greater part of which were

as useful in Japan as in [sic] a fifth wheel would be to a wagon.

There were about 70 students at the farm and an office full of officials, with only three or four of whom I had anything to do. I arranged to give lectures to the students. An hour or so every morning and an equal time in instruction in the field and in the care of live stock. It was right here that I thanked my stars for early training at home where the detail of farm work and care of domestic animals had been drilled into me from childhood.

A year spent in the management of a racing stable of thorough breeds and trotters had finished my education as a horseman. On reaching man's estate I prided myself on being able to lead the men, always excepting our Irish ditchers, in any branch of farm work and in the management of live stock. I could swing a scythe or ax with the best and in handling all kinds of agricultural machinery was the best man on the place. In teaching the students and in practical information to the agricultural branch of the Kaitakushi, this early training was invaluable and enabled me to answer correctly, and almost without thought, in a thousand details, almost any one of which would have stumped the college-bred, book-learned expert. It was for this reason that Mr. Shelton did not succeed. He was, doubtless, learned in agricultural chemistry, in botany, in plant life, in all that books can teach in higher agriculture, but had no practical knowledge whatever. At home I had also taken up the study of veterinary surgery and was fairly well up in animal anatomy. This also stood me in good stead, as at that time there was not a graduated veterinary surgeon in Japan. In fact in addition to the higher requirements necessary for an expert adviser in agriculture and live stock breeding, I found it also necessary to be a "Jack of all trades".

Within a month or so I had got fairly started in my work. My relations with the officials of the department, high and low, were excellent[.] I was also on the best terms with my students. I had gained their confiden-

ce and respect.

THE IMPERIAL VISIT

Early in September I was notified that His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor, would visit the farm within a week or ten days and that we must arrange for His reception. To have our live stock ready for his inspection, as far as possible show him our American labor saving machinery and implements in actual use. As I was the only man on the place that could handle a team of horse decently I felt that I had a pretty large order on hand but determined to make a creditable showing if possible to do so. We had a few acres of wheat, barley and rye grass still standing and an ample extent of fallow land for showing the working of drills, corn planters, etc. Fortunately we had a splendid team of American horse which were all that were required for carrying out this part of the show. The running of the great threshing machine was the most difficult part of the job but we got together eight Japanese stallions to run the horse power and after days of kicking, biting and squealing got them to working well together. Of course all machinery had to be well cleaned, oiled and tested beforehand. Every machine was in place for instant work when the great day came. Upon inquiry I was informed that I must appear in full evening dress, high hat, white necktie and gloves.

The Emperor came in an imported court carriage and attended by Prince Sanjo, Prime Minister, the great general Saigo, Okubo, Kuroda, Okuma and many others whom, of course, I did not recognize at that time. After inspecting the live stock the Emperor was driven to where I was seated on a reaping machine. I started at once and after reaping a few rounds of barley and wheat changed my team to a mowing machine and cut a few swaths of rye grass, then changed again to a big wheat drill and then to a corn planter. The Emperor was then driven to the thresher and the power started with me on the feeding platform. Feeding a big thresher requires much skill and practice and is about the dirtiest work

imaginable. I believe I am the only man living who has undertaken the job in dress suit. Everything went off well and I was afterwards informed that His Majesty was well pleased with the exhibition.

From the threshing He was driven to a reception house in a beautiful garden on the farm. On his departure I made quick time to my own quarters, about the dirtiest individual ever seen in evening clothes and high hat. After a bath I got into a yukata and long bamboo chair and, with the assistance of a bottle of beer and cigar, was beginning to feel comfortable again when in rushed my interpreter with the information that I was wanted at once at the reception house to be presented to the Emperor. Fortunately my boy had already been at work on my dress clothes and hat so it required only a few moments to get the beastly things on again and report to General Kuroda who was waiting for me. He presented me to one of the most distinguished looking men I had ever seen, a man that would attract attention no matter where he might be. He was General Saigo afterwards known as the Great Saigo. The leader of the Satsuma rebellion which was suppressed after desperate fighting in 1887 when, rather than surrender, Saigo committed harakiri. I was taken by General Saigo into the room where the Emperor was seated in a large chair. I made three bows as instructed and backed out. At that time such salutations were not acknowledged in any way by the Emperor. As I stood before him for a moment I noticed that Prince Sanjo who was standing near, whispered to him. The Emperor glanced at Sanjo for an instant and nodded slightly. Shortly after this the Emperor left the grounds. At this time the Emperor was twenty three years of age, rather tall for a Japanese and very slender. It was my good fortune to meet him many times in after years when he had matured in physique and the manner of his reception had changed.

FIRST IMPRESSIONS.

At this time I had been three months in Japan. It was, of course the time of first impressions. What were they? After 47 years of almost continuous residence here they seem now to have been clouded and vague. Conditions have changed so gradually, yet completely, that what I thought the country and people then has but little connection with present convictions. I was charmed with the courtesy and kindness of the two sworded gentlemen who were daily my companions, who seemed always pleased to entertain me with the evident desire to lessen the loneliness of the stranger so far from his home. Their manners were as they are now, most charming, but at that time, it seems to me, there was more frankness and real friendly feeling displayed than is met with today. It is true there were a class of fanatics in bitter opposition to the change in government who were always ready, when opportunity offered, to try their swords on the barbarians whom they were convinced were the real cause of the change that had taken place and who, they believed, intended to overrun and ultimately conquer their country and enslave its people. They could not keep step with the progressive men of the time who realized that old Japan was a thing of the past and that they must go forward with, and be a part of the outside world or cease to exist as an independent nation. Time has proved that the far sighted, progressive men who ruled Japan at that day were right and the reactionaries were wrong. But conditions then gave color to the widespread belief that the foreigner had evil designs upon their country and their only safety lay in casting them out and closing Japan as it was before to the rest of the world. When it is remembered that 1,500 British and 1,000 French soldiers then stationed at Yokohama dominated the land from a military point of view, that the new government of Japan had no force to meet them, should the crisis arise and that the warships of the foreigner had, but recently, demonstrated their over

whelming power at Shimonoseki and Kagoshima, it is not surprising that fear for the future possessed the souls of a proud, home loving people almost entirely ignorant of conditions abroad and of the real designs of foreign nations. It is indeed surprising that there were not more frequent outbreaks and more widespread revolts. The apparent ease with which the great leaders held the country in hand can be attributed, in the first place, only to the love and universal veneration in which the Emeror was held and the willingness of high and low to do his bidding and, secondly to the centuries of discipline that had taught the masses to unquestionly [sic] obey the commands of their superiors.

The social divisions of the people of Japan prior to the restoration are familiar to all but the harmonious working of that social state can only be appreciated by those who witnessed it. The democrat of today is apt to consider it as an evidence of the tyrannical rule of a feudal state. As a matter of fact there was no tyranny in connection with it. Each man had his place fixed by centuries of usage and with each place there were inviolable rights which were treasured by the coolie as well as by the nobleman. The coolie felt no degradation in kneeling when the nobleman passed. He felt he was only rendering an homage that was undoubtedly due to his superior. He felt no degradation in his lowly state, he was born in it as his forefathers had been for many generations before. He was not persecuted. The law of the land protected him in his rights. His hours of labor were less than now and his holidays much more frequent. Every sixth day was a holiday and the number of festivals far more frequent than at present. He was well fed and housed as well as he is today. As I remember it, the life of the people then was much more joyous than now. They were content with their lot. Happy in freedom from care and ignorant of a better life. It is true there was another side to the picture. The visitations of pestilence and famine were

frequent and terrible. Cholera, small pox and other scourges ravaged the land unchecked and took their toll in millions. Famine was always local and due to inadequate means of transporting supplies from places of abundance to places where there was want. These visitations were, however, accepted stoically by the people as beyond the power of man to control. In the same way they regarded the terrible conflagrations that periodically swept from one end to the other of their towns and cities. I visited several of the great fires of Tokio. In front of the advancing flames the streets would be filled with frenzied people fleeing with children, cats and other household effects in their arms. On either side of the blackened pathway of the fire would be seen groups of citizens seated in some neighbor's house drinking sake and laughingly congratulating their friend on his escape, this time, and expressing their sorrow for the less fortunate ones in bumpers of wine.

Behind the flames in the still smoking ruins would be seen hundreds of had been householders inspecting their fire-proof godowns in which their most valuable effects were stored, and already marking out sites for another match wood dwelling or shop. It was only in front of the terror that excitement was manifest. On the other side, if not laughing good humor, no noisy lamentation^S_A were to be heard. This resignation of the Japanese under misfortune I was at first disposed to attribute to callousness but when I got to know them better I no longer did so. I believe it to be the result of centuries of training during which they have been taught to suppress their emotions. Those under affliction who have experienced the tender solicitude of Japanese friends can never doubt the kindness of heart that prompts the ready help and sympathy so freely given. In the first shock of surprise such as comes with fire or earthquake, human nature asserts itself with the Japanese as with all others. It is later that the teaching of self suppression gains such

surprising control over manifestations of personal emotion. I believe the Japanese to be, naturally an extremely emotional people. It is the spirit of Bushido that has suppressed this tendency as inconsistent with their honor as men and the fulfilling of their duty to their sovereign and country. The old samurai and the soldier of today were and are always ready to take their own lives rather than submit to what they conceive to be derogatory to their duty or honor without exhibiting a semblance of regret or repugnance. If one could read the hearts of these men what a story of suffering might be revealed!

In old Japan the people were efficient in all their simple life required. Objects of art and industry that have come down to us are convincing evidence of this. But that they were improvident in regard to the future is also apparent. Perhaps being satisfied with what their simple daily life required made them careless of what became of the surplus. But in the new-life of today they are both improvident and inefficient. Optimistic by nature they will gamble away not only their own patrimony by [sic] but that of their dearest friend in the absolute belief of having found the easy way to wealth. The lower classes are inclined to be inveterate gamblers. Hence the stringent laws in regard to gambling that the authorities, rightly, so remorselessly enforce in regard to the lower classes.

In regard to inefficiency, who has not observed a lot of road menders at their work? The filling of a hole with slime from the gutter nearest by, the sprinkling a few shovels of gravel on the top, the smoothing over till it is a thing of beauty, the complacency with which they view the completed work as they depart for another beastly hole, that will presently look pretty, and their absolute regardlessness of the certainty of the next passing automobile scattering the covering gravel and the filthy muck below to the four corners of the compass. What old resident has not damned the artist that sold him a beautiful chair that without provocation left him on the floor with a mass of beautiful sticks about him. Or the doors

of his house, so substantial in appearance last August, that in the dry cold months of January and February afforded more ventilation than his friend the fresh air fiend would approve of. In more important matters I need only name the postal system, the telegraph, telephones and trams to emphasize this all pervading inefficiency that handicaps Japan today.

Japan is still young in the ways of the West and her workmen unskilled in the requirements of the new life she has entered. There is hope that time and that stern mentor, competition, will remedy the defects so apparent today. As a witness of the progress this wonderful people have made in almost half a century I have lived with them I hope and believe they will make good in the end.

EARTHQUAKES and FIRES.

Before returning to the story of my own reminiscences I will venture a word of warning to the good citizens of Tokio. For more than twenty five years Prof. John Milne R S, the eminent authority on seismology was a resident of Tokio and during the greater part of that time was my most intimate friend and constant companion. It is on the authority of what I learned from him that I now venture to speak. Milne made the study of the earthquakes of Japan his speciality. He had a complete chronological record of the destructive earthquakes that had occurred during the past seven centuries. As far back as he could find reliable records the number that had occurred in different parts of Japan was very large and in the district now occupied by the city of Tokio not one century of the seven had passed without one, two or three destructive ones occurring. Hundreds of severer shocks approaching the destructive, but not classified as such, were recorded. In 1892 and 1895, if I remember correctly, I experienced two of the severe ones. The first was the tail end of the great

Gifu earthquake, the second was of local origin. I was at the U.S. Legation when it occurred and ran upstairs to the rescue of my sister's two children who were staying with me at the time. When I reached the upper floor the movement was so great that I had difficulty in keeping my feet. The house and chimneys were swaying about in an alarming manner and kept it up for some time after the shock itself had ceased. The children were frightened, of course, but seemed to enjoy the new experience when I assured them it was all right. Buildings on the low lands of Tokio suffered most. Tsukiji had the appearance of having been bombarded. There was not a chimney top left in the settlement and many brick buildings were badly cracked. One of the mission school buildings was almost destroyed. Bishop McKim who was there at the time had a narrow escape. As he was leaving one of the mission buildings a falling brick struck him fairly on the head; fortunately he had on a heavy sun helmet at the time, which probably, saved his life. In other parts of the city [m]any houses were damaged or even destroyed. At the German Legation the main building and secretary's house were so badly shattered that they had to be torn down and re-built.

At one of the barracks in the city a building collapsed and some soldiers were killed and many injured. The loss of life in Tokio was about forty. This was classed as a severe but not as a destructive shock. The Gifu earthquake was a very destructive one at the centre of the disturbance. Fortunately with the exception of Gifu there were no large centre of population in the locality where it was most severe. Nagoya on the outskirts of that locality suffered severely in loss of life and buildings, mostly factories. The loss of life in the entire region was about 13,000. The number of ma[i]med and injured was much greater. Professor Milne visited the region of greater diturbances as soon as he could get there. In fact the after shocks had not entirely ceased on his arrival. It is

mostly a flat farming district with a few small towns and villages scattered through it. But few houses were left standing. The plain was dotted over with the thatched roofs of farms that had collapsed killing all who had failed to get out in time. The ground was marked by fissures, especially embankments were much broken. In one place there was a subsidence of four or five feet that cut across a highway forming a jump off in the road of the same height. The railway lines were twisted in a remarkable manner; looking along a line of rails the lines had a snake like appearance. A long railway bridge was let down. The movement of the ground under the rigid bridge structure crumbled the masonry of the supporting piers. In this earthquake the movement of the ground at Tokio was over two inches but was very slow and but little damage was done. Mr. Kildoyle an American resident of Yokohama was stopping at a Japanese inn at Gifu when the earthquake occurred. It was early in the morning, Kildoyle was still asleep. He was awakened by a terrible commotion, the first thing he noticed was the paper and outside doors of the house flying out of their grooves in all directions. He tried to stand up but was thrown down. He then managed to roll and crawl out of the house into the street where he again attempted to get on his feet but failed. He said the shocks came in quick succession making him feel sea-sick. Houses were falling into the street and fire broke out in many places. The first and worst disturbance lasted for a few minutes but was followed by others, of less force, at short intervals which gradually increased in length and the shocks in the same degree decreased in force. Professor Milne estimated that the greatest horizontal movement at Gifu must have been more than one foot and the vertical movement five or six inches.

The last great earthquake that visited Tokio was in 1853 or 1854. There are doubtless many people still living who experienced its

terrors. The records of it state that 100,000 people perished, more by fire that broke out in all directions than from the earthquake itself. The greater part of the city was destroyed. It is impossible to say if it was as violent as the Gifu earthquake or not, but it is known to have been very violent and destructive. Earlier in the century 1810 or 1812 Tokio experienced a similar disaster. With these records before one can any reasonable man believe that these terrible visitors will not come again? It was Professor Milne's belief that their recurrence was not only probable but absolutely certain sooner or later. Until about 1900 the architecture of the city conformed to the seismic conditions as closely as prudence required. Since then steel has been largely used to strengthen large buildings and justify more lofty structures. Year by year the tendency to add more floors to buildings has increased. Not only where steel is used to strengthen but also in brick and concrete structures where steel is not used at all. It would seem that the test the future will surely apply to every edifice in Tokio has been forgotten or ignored. Undoubtedly the rapid advancing cost of building ground is the principal reason for higher and higher buildings, and the builder probably argues that the increased revenue from untaxed space above justifies the risk of sudden destruction that may not occur during his life time or, at least, until the rents from his increased floor room have covered his investment. That this kind of gambling can be approved from a business point of view I very much doubt. That it cannot be approved from an ethical point of view I have no doubt whatever. It seems to me it is high time for the city authorities to take a hand in the game and require that every plan of building be sub-

mitted for approval to a competent board of engineers who should be fully authorized and required to supervise constructions. I could point out fine looking buildings, now occupied in Tokio today that have been constructed with entire disregard of what ordinary prudence calls for and, doubtless there are hundreds of others completed or now being built that should be condemned. Doubtless the better class of new structures that are supported by frames of steel of enormous strength would easily withstand the shock of even a very severe earthquake. But would any one of them endure the repetition of the Gifu earthquake?

After the Emperor's visit my life at the farm passed easily and pleasantly. One day so much like the preceeding that I remember but little of special interest. We had a splendid trotting stallion in our stables that I made it my business to exercise daily. Every evening I would have "Don" harnessed to a light trotting sulky and drive for miles through the streets of Tokio. In this way I got to know my way about as far as Ueno and Asakusa. That part of the city was as familiar to me then as it is today. The soft streets of the city were then but little used by heavy vehicles, kurumas and pedestrians were about all they had to withstand. Especially in the old Daimyo quarters the roads were as smooth as a floor and delightful to drive over. The business quarter was almost entirely between Nihonbashi and Kyobashi on one side and the Sumidagawa on the other. In this district where the streets are narrow and then as now, always crowded with people and heavy wooden wheeled hand carts required for the traffic, I never ventured with "Don" and sulky. "Don" was a remarkable horse, as bold as a lion and gentle as a lamb. I got to love him as only a horseman can understand. At times we would meet processions that to both of us seemed outlandish; great dashing followed by thousands of yelling people with drums, flutes, children and it seemed with every other imaginable beastly thing that could make a noise. "Don" would stop, stare

with head up and ears pricked for a moment and then look back at me for instructions. My "steady old boy" was always sufficient for him; with a snort of contempt he would stand perfectly still until the beastly thing, as he doubtless thought it, passed by. He always seemed to feel perfectly sure that I would never take him to improper places. Afterwards he was in the stud at Niicapu, Hokkaido for years and as his progeny was patriarchal, there is doubtless much of his blood in Japan today.

Just forty-six years ago this evening (this is New Year's eve) 1919, I was comfortably fixed in an easy chair at home with a book when my boy came and told me the great Zojoyoji temple at Shiba was burning and that the farm fire brigade was about to start for the scene of conflagration. I hustled into my overcoat and boots and went with them. The old temple was much larger and higher than the structure that was afterwards built to replace it and which in turn was destroyed by fire ten or twelve years ago. The night was perfectly still, snowing a little. When we got there the large structure was a mass of fire. The roof of the temple was of copper and gave a wonderfully beautiful color to the flames that soared up to a great height. The great bell, still in the same place as then, boomed out its lament from the beginning. The belfry finally took fire and as the bell became heated its tone became lower and lower until it seemed an angry roar instead of the solemn but comforting boom of prosperous days. The priests who swung the great log that tolled it did not leave their post until the heat became more than man could endure. Shortly after they left [the] bell and belfry crashed down in a tower of flame and sparks. The burning of this great temple was the most beautiful conflagration I have ever seen. Thirty years after I witnessed the destruction by fire of the temple built in the place where the old one had stood.

#DEALINGS WITH GENERAL CAPRON -

Some months prior to the great temple fire I met General Capron on his return from Hokkaido. I feel reluctant to speak of the

General at all but as he is a part of the story I am trying to tell I cannot leave him out. He was a fine dignified looking, old gentleman and made the best cocktail I ever drank but was about as well fitted to fill the place he occupied as General James Wilson of New Jersey told me after [-] wards, he was to command a brigade in the U.S. army. He was a charming companion but nil as an organizer or leader of men. Instead of being a help and support to his staff he was constantly a hindrance in their way. If one of us had a suggestion to make regarding our speciality he would blandly refer us to the Japanese in our department. If we ventured to question the advisability of his suggestions, he would intimate that it was impertinent to question the wisdom of the acts of our chief. After making his acquaintance and in answer to his inquiry regarding the extension of my contract I ventured to say that I had understood that I was engaged to assist in the work connected with the colonizatin of Hokkaido and I failed to see in what way the very expensive establishments maintained at Tokio were of much value in furthering that work and, unless I was assured that the entire Tokio establishment would soon be transferred to the northern island, I would not feel disposed to remain after the expiration of my contract. He replied that I would find it to my interest not to concern myself with the the general management of the department. That of course I could not understand the advantage of having so important an undertaking so near the presence of Majesty. I admitted he was quite right that I could not understand the advantages he mentioned. I also took occasion to ask him why mutton sheep had been imported instead of wool bearing animals and, also, why a part of the cows imported were not of the best breeds of milkers instead of the entire lot being beef producers. I also did not fail to refer to the horribly unsanitary place selected for the housing of our live stock. In fact the immensely superior air he was pleased to adopt in my reception was not soothing in its effect on my temper. He did not seem to be altogether pleased with our interview. I

am sure I was not. However its after effects were satisfactory in so far as I was concerned. Thereafter the General troubled me very little in the management of my part of the business. Later on in the spring I was approached by the Japanese authorities in regard to a renewal of my contract. I informed them of the objections I had stated to General Capron. They assured me they entirely concurred with my views and had already decided to move the entire Tokio establishment to Hokkaido as soon as possible. They also informed me that General Capron was returning to America before the end of the year and finally, that they were prepared to almost double my salary. This last item in their proposition naturally influenced me greatly and, finally, I agreed to stay on for another year.

- Friends-----

My second year in Tokio was similar in all respects to the first excepting that I had made many friends, both Japanese and foreign. Amongst them were the Hon. John A. Bingham U.S. minister to Japan and his secretary of legation, Mr. D.W. Stevens who afterwards rendered such splendid service to Japan in the capacity of confidential secretary to Prince Ito during the latter's administration of Korea. The brutal assassination of Mr. Stevens at San Francisco by Korean fanatics is remembered by many of his friends living in Tokio today. The unreasoning barbarity of that cruel deed can never be forgiven by them. He was one of the best friends that poor misguided people ever had.

One noticeable feature of Japan when I first arrived was the wild animal life that swarmed every where. At Shiba and Ueno parks and many other places in Tokio where there was cover, it was a common occurrence to put up a cover of pheasants and in the suburbs they were far more plentiful than chickens. Near the farm they were so plentiful that I shot

them for the pot only. They were too easy for sport. In the migratory season great flocks of water fowl of all kinds would come in from their feeding ground to the moats of Tokio for shelter and protection. The moat in front of the British legation would be black with geese, ducks and other kinds of water fowl. At the farm there was an artificial Fujisan left from ancient times. It was honey combed with dens of foxes, badgers and smaller prowling beasts. The nightly yelp of the dog foxes was as frequently heard as the bark of the city dogs. I shall never forget an evening when I was aroused by a noise in my dining room. Gently opening the door I observed a fine dog fox on my dining table regaling himself with the contents of my butter dish. When he saw me he leisurely departed as he came through the open window. In going he gave me a look that spoke as plainly as words: "you are an impertinent fellow to interrupt a gentleman at dinner"? [sic]

Gentlemen had not yet taken to the fowling piece for sport and fire arms were forbidden to the common herd. Trapping with nets and other contrivances was permitted and by these means the markets were amply supplied with game.

About the time of my arrival two bear cubs, male and female, were sent to the farm from Hokkaido. They were great pets and for some time were permitted to go about almost without restraint. When they grew to troublesome size wooden cages that appeared to be amply strong, were provided for their accommodation. The male grew prodigiously and the following spring was an enormous beast for a cub. One night I heard a great commotion outside and through the windows saw many coolies running about with lanterns. I hastily ran out thinking a fire had broken out. The night was very dark and I could see nothing but the lanterns some distance away. Soon I heard a grunting snuffling sound and the next moment the paws of a great stinking beast were around me. To manifest his good will I suppose, he licked my face with his beastly tongue. My protests against the procedure

were forcible. I kicked him in the stomach and tried to chock [sic] him with my hands. Finally I succeeded in getting free and made my record time for the house. When the coolies attracted by the row came up Mr. Bear submitted without protest to being conducted back to his cage which was repaired and strengthened until a suitable structure of iron bars was provided to take its place.

I Settle in Hokkaido.

The next year 1875, I went to Hokkaido, spending the summer at an agricultural station, at Nanai, about ten miles north of Hakodate. Here I met my fate in the person of the daughter of a small official from Tsugaru. After almost endless official requirements and red tape were complied with, the matter was finally arranged greatly through the good offices of Mr. Bingham, our minister.

I want to say right here that never for a moment did I regret the step I had taken. Through her I became acquainted with the most beautiful part of Japan, her women of the better class. I may be prejudiced, but it seems to me there cannot be a more unselfish, self sacrificing and lovable creature on earth than a good Japanese woman. Generations of education has seemingly succeeded in establishing two classes with dissimilar characteristics in the same race of people. The man is taught to believe that he is "it" and that the exclusive mission of woman is to minister to his comfort and pleasure, to take proper care of his house and to bear his children. While he recognizes her authority in household matters and may truly be affectionate and often faithful to her and always ready to listen to her advice in time of trouble, he never forgets that he is one of the lords of creation and that favors shown should be gratefully received as condescensions on his part. While concubinage was recognized as the man's privilege it was very seldom that the wife and concubine occupied the same house. I remember but one instance where I was on visiting terms with the

husband that I was, on several occasions received by the wife and concubine together. In this instance the relations between the two seemed to be most friendly. I have heard of many other similar cases but, at the time of which I am writing, it was far from being the general practice. Japanese history tells us that women have played a leading part in the sterner affairs of government. While such instances are rare they are sufficient to refute maudlin stories of the west regarding the down trodden women of Japan. As a rule such stories are as absurd as they are untrue, even of the time I am writing.

Early in 1876 I took up my residence at Sapporo and remained there until the Kaitakushi was abolished early in 1883.

- I EXPERIENCE SHEEP RAISING AND SUGAR BEET CULTURE

In the meantime I had induced the authorities to order 400 thoroughbred Merino ewes with a sufficient number of rams from America. They arrived in splendid condition early in the spring of 1876. One half were placed in Nanai, already mentioned, the other half I took under my own special care as I wished to test carefully the possibility of wool growing in Hokkaido as it seemed to me to have an important bearing on the future prosperity of the country. In the beginning we were sadly handicapped by want of proper pasturage but managed to keep them in fair condition until two years later we had got 150 acres of fine land near Sapporo well sodded with blue grass. After this I had no trouble with them at all. Within four years I had increased our flock to as many as our pasture would carry. By careful selection in breeding, remorselessly cutting out every ewe not up to the mark I had set, I increased the average yield of unwashed wool from ten pounds per fleece, their record in the United States, to nearly twelve pounds. By careful experiment with over twenty plots of the better kinds of foreign grasses I ascertained that any grass that flourished in England or America would do equally well in Hokkaido provided equally suitable soil was provided. I established beyond doubt that sheep

would thrive well in Hokkaido if properly handled and always provided suitable soil could be secured for the growth of the kinds of grass necessary for their well being. What I reported for Hokkaido was equally true in regard to all northern Japan. I also gave the cost of keep in Hokkaido where the ground for six months in the year is covered with snow from three to ten feet in depth, as compared with that in more favored lands, Australia the sheep districts of western America and southern South America in all of which there was no extra expense for winters keep. I pointed out that the cost of producing wool at Sapporo was three or four times greater than the cost of the same article imported from Australia as reported in the Yokohama market. Also after a few years residence in Hokkaido I ascertained from trips through and almost around the island and more particularly from the able reports of the survey department, geographical, geological and topographical[,] that at least 90% of the island was unfit for cultivation of any kind owing to the very mountaneous character and the extensive areas, destroyed by volcanic ash for agricultural purposees. There remains the river valleys and those of smaller streams that are subject to yearly overflow and thereby enriched by deposit together with a very limited area of heavily timbered foot hill and low lying lands that can be classed as farming lands. In short there are less than 2,000,000 acres capable of cultivation in the entire island. So I concluded and so reported that the idea of extensive sheep raising in Japan should be abandoned. That the arable lands of Hokkaido as well as of Japan proper were more urgently needed for the production of food for the people than for the growing of grass for sheep. Particularly so as wool could always be imported for much less than it would be produced in Japan. And furthermore it seemed doubtful if the Japanese would ever take kindly to mutton as a food. The grass covered mountain slope of Japan, so beautiful from a distan-

ce and the verdure of which seems sufficient to afford pasturage for countless herds and flocks is in reality of little value as pasturage. The grass is coarse and contains but little nutriment. It does not appear until May and dies in October or early November when the autumn rains wash away what little nutriment it ever contained and leave it a mass of valueless straw.

I have been perhaps prolix in discussing this subject, my excuse is a purpose in view. Recently (1920) articles have frequently appeared in the vernacular and foreign press relative to the government's intention to encourage sheep raising in every way in order to make Japan independent of foreign countries in regard to wool. Only a few days since an article appeared in the Japan Advertiser to the effect that a member of the Australian legislation had introduced a Bill [sic] to that body prohibiting the export of sheep from Australia to Japan in order to prevent serious rivalry in one of Australia's most valued industries. If the Australian statesman [sic] had been well informed on the subject, his bill would probably have read "to encourage the export of sheep to Japan where an unexpected demand for them might soon arise for a purpose impossible of fulfilment and that could only result in the enrichment of Australian ranchers at the expense of Japan." What has become of the many reports on this question I made to the authorities I do not know. Probably they are no longer in existence. It all reminds me so forcibly of a similar incident that occurred in Hokkaido that I venture to relate it.

In 1878 the Kaitakushi requested Mr. Brooks, Professor of Agriculture in the college and myself to make an experimental study of sugar beet culture with a view to the introduction of the beet sugar industry provided our report was favorable. Mr. Brooks and myself secured a quantity of the seed of a dozen or more of the most popular variety of beets. These seeds were divided between us and planted in plots of land

especially selected for the purpose and cultivated in the most approved manner. All sorts of fertilizers were used, large quantities on some of the plots, less on other and on a few none at all. These experiments were continued for three years in succession. Every means that we could think of being tried to get the best results possible. Hundreds of samples from the different plots were carefully analyzed and reported upon. The best result obtained during the three years of experiments was about 11% of sugar. The percentage ranging down from that figure to 6% and 7%. In France, beets that show less than 15 or 15% of sugar in the laboratory are considered unprofitable to mill, and then what remains of the beets after passing through the rollers is utilized as food for cattle. Our failure to get better results were doubtless, owing to the Hokkaido climate which is too cold for the development of a high percentage of sugar.

Our final report utterly condemned the sugar beet project and the Kaitakushi officials had sufficient confidence in us to accept our finding as final. Within three or four years after this the Kaitakushi had ceased to exist and the new government of the island had ordered a beet sugar mill, costing a million yen which was placed at Usue Mombetsu near Muroran, and contracts were made with the farmers for a supply of beets. But more extraordinary still, before getting any results whatever from the Usue Mombetsu venture machinery costing about two millions of yen, was ordered for a much larger mill to be erected at Sapporo. After a few years of dismal failures the Usue Mombetsu mill shut down. As for the Sapporo mill the machinery was never even put into place. It would almost seem to indicate a tendency of Japanese character to reject any advice no matter how well founded it may be, that conflicts with their wishes of ill formed conclusions. I am disposed to attribute it to their optimistic temperament that prevents the recognition of even the impossible.

#WORK + ADVENTURES -

We established in many parts of the island breeding farms in

addition to the purely experimental agricultural station at Sapporo which was transferred to the agricultural college. In addition to the sheep pasture already mentioned we had a hog ranch where all the best breeds of America and Europe were bred. At Makomanai about five miles from Sapporo we had a cattle ranch and dairy in connection with which 200 acres of wild land was cleared out and cultivated in corn, hay and various kinds of roots as food for the cattle. At Izari about thirty miles from Sapporo we enclosed a fine bit of native pasture land about 2,000 acres in extent for the use of some of our horses. At Niicappu 110 miles from Sapporo we established our great stud farm and ranch for the improvement of Hokkaido horses by crossing, in the first place, with selected stallions from Nambu and then with foreign stallions and native mares selected from the first cross between Hokkaido mares and Nambu stallions. In the Chibichari valley adjoining the main ranch we secured about 300 ^{acres} ~~acres~~ of fine bottom land which we got under cultivation to supply winter food for our foreign stallions mares and half breeds. The main ranch contained about 35,000 acres divided by post and rail fencing into ten or a dozen separate enclosures. In assisting in the laying out of this ranch I spent two weeks in camp where [sic] as there were no available houses that could be used as head quarters. The Niicappu river bounded the western side of the ranch and Chibichari river the eastern. Its nearest point to the sea was then ten miles distant and it was about fifteen miles in extreme length and varies in width from two to five or six miles. The only people near it were a few Ainu living in huts along the two rivers. The southern part of the ranch is of high but almost flat grass land fifty or sixty feet above the rivers. It gradually changes into rolling then hilly land that terminates in the foot hills of a lofty mountain at the northern end of the ranch. All of the northern part is wooded and covered with a dense growth of scrub bamboo from two to five feet in height which is an excellent winter's food for the hardy Hokkaido pony. We stocked our ranch with 1,000

selected Hokkaido mares and placed with them about fifty of the best Nambu stallions that could be procured. Four thoroughbred stallions were imported from America which, together with "Don" my Tokio pet covered 200 specially selected native mares. These were kept in the home paddock, near the center of the ranch, where stables and dwelling houses for the manager and the men were erected. In due time about 90% of the mares bred to Nambu stallions were found to be with foal whereas about 40% of those bred to our imported stallions became pregnant. This great discrepancy was doubtless owing to the difference in temperament of the native and thoroughbred.

This shyness in crossing led me to believe it would be easier to introduce a foreign breed of horses by importing both male and female than to attempt to improve the native by crossing with foreign blood. But at the same time I became convinced that the native horse that could be greatly improved by careful selection was the very best animal for the general needs of the Japanese people. For military and carriage as well as racing and riding purposes a better horse is desirable, but the breeding of this class of horses should be kept separate and entirely distinct from the wants of the farmer and general run of the Japanese people. However, we had 70 or 80 half breds and over 500 native colts to show at the end of our first year. But to our horror we discovered that wolves with which that part of Hokkaido was at that time infested seemed competent to devour horse flesh rather faster than we could produce it. One lot of 90 mares with foals had been placed in an enclosure to themselves, within a week or ten days they were rounded up but not a colt was with them. Every one of the 90 had been killed; their bones were scattered all over the place.

Wolves + Grass hoppers.

The Hokkaido wolf is a formidable beast but not dangerous to man so long as other prey is to be had for the killing. During the winter months, at the time of which I am writing, they lived mostly upon deer which

were very plentiful. During the summer their diet was principally horse meat. A full grown wolf weighs from 70 to 80 pounds, he has an enormous head and mouth armed with tremendous fangs and teeth. He is generally very lean but exceedingly muscular. Of a grey color in summer and greyish white in winter, when his fur is thick and long. His feet are remarkable for their size, three or four times larger than the feet of the largest dog which they resemble in shape, only the claws are much longer. Their large feet enable them to travel rapidly over deep snow that soon tires a fleeing deer that could easily run away from his enemy when the ground is bare. They usually hunt singly or in couple but frequently the trail of a pack of four or five or even more is seen in the snow. They are widely scattered throughout the island as a rule but few in any one neighborhood. Doubtless the large number of horses we had confined in a limited area attracted them from near and far. After killing the colts in the outlying pastures it was not long before they began on the mothers. In fact the situation became so serious that it was up to us to exterminate the wolves or go out of the horse breeding business at Niicappu. As it was hopeless to attempt to hunt them down we sent to Tokio and Yokohama for all the strychnine to be had and fearing there was not enough for our purpose in those places, sent a supplementary order to San Francisco for more. We succeeded in getting enough to poison every living thing on the island.

We went to work systematically. We organized a patrol of about twenty horsemen each of them had his daily route assigned to him. Each would be supplied with chunks of poisoned meat to be dropped at likely places and with a small bottle of strychnine to be used in case of which there were many, the carcass of a murdered horse or colt was found. In such case the meat remaining would be deeply slashed and a liberal allowance of our seasoning sprinkled within it. The success of our systematic work

was immediate and within a few months complete.

A wolf cannot resist the temptation of a bit of raw meat and although he may not relish the flavor that strychnine imparts he probably has enough of it in his inside to do its deadly work before he realizes that it is not to his liking. The first day's bag was five or six dead wolves found, probably others slunk away to die in places where they could not be found. Their bodies would usually be found near the poisoned carcass or bait, where if undisturbed they would remain gorging themselves until the deadly stuff began to work and it works very quickly. Often they would be found near water where they had gone to quench the terrible thirst the poison creates. Our first day's bag was our best. A few were bagged every day for a week or ten days, then only one or so occasionally. Then for weeks our bag would be nil until, finally the beasts were wiped out. So within one summer and autumn we were freed from a pest that in the spring seemed very threatening to our enterprise. Hundreds of dead foxes crows and an occasional Ainu stray dog were found near our plants which was of course unavoidable.

#

After this the work at Niicappu was easy and fairly successful with the exception of one summer when the entire southern coast of the island and for many miles inland was visited by enormous swarms of locusts that destroyed every green plant they happened to settle on. It was the same insect that occasionally visits the western states of the United States as well as many other parts of the world. It has been known for thousands of years as the curse of Egypt on account of the utter destruction of every green thing in the places it visits. On hearing of the visitation I at once left Sapporo for Niicappu. I first observed the extraordinary phenomenon on reaching an extensive sandy plain about fifty miles distant from Niicappu. Above as far as the eye could reach the air was filled with glistening wings. When I rode on to the plain I found the

insects were dropping in countless millions. The ground was black with them, in places they were a squirming mass several inches deep. The females had selected this plain as a suitable place for depositing their eggs. The plain was about five miles in length and from one to two miles wide. I rode through its entire length. It was all the same from one to the other. On my return the swarm of locusts had left but every inch of that great sandy plain was pitted and each pit contained from fifty to one hundred eggs that hatched out with the first warm days of the following spring. From this place on to Niicappu I passed under and through several similar swarms. Upon my arrival I found that continuous swarms had passed over the place but, as yet, none had settled there. But the next day they settled on our farm in enormous quantities. At the time we had 100 acres of splendid corn in roasting ear and a field of 50 acres of meadow from which, fortunately, the grass had been gathered but which was covered with a fine aftergrowth. Within a few hours after the swarm settled every leaf on the tall corn stalks was gone and the ears of corn entirely denuded of their covering husks. The meadow grass was entirely eaten to the ground which was as bare as it was before seeding. I walked through the corn field while the little devils were having their lunch. Every corn stalk, every blade, was black with them and wherever I placed my foot dozens were crushed into a nasty mess. I was literally walking on insects not on the ground. Without seeing it no one can imagine the enormous quantities of living things appearing at any spot in so short a time. The habits and history of the locust or grass hopper is an extremely interesting story but too long for me to tell. After my experience with them I read all the literature on the subject that I could find. The records of the U.S. Department of Agriculture of the time I am writing are very complete and extremely interesting reading for any one interested in insect life.

- Travels in the Interior -

The looking after our many live stock establishments was by no means a slothful job. As there was no other means of getting about I spent fully one half of my business hours in the saddle. When I first visited Sapporo the department paid all traveling expenses of the foreign employees. They were allowed to take with them a cook and boy at government expense and were supplied with table linen, knives and forks and all sorts of food. A paymaster accompanied them and also acted as their interpreter. They were expected to make ten ri - 25 miles - per day. The retinue of a geologist or mining expert, for instance, on inspection tours resembled that of a daimyo traveling to visit the Shogun. While very comfortable this sort of getting about did not suit my book at all, so I applied for the same traveling allowance paid to Japanese officers according to their rank and salaries. My request was readily granted and it not only saved a lot of trouble but also a considerable sum of money. I made my own arrangements accordingly. At Niicapu I fixed up a room of my own where I kept all sorts of supplies including extra clothing. At a few other places I kept a few things that would come in handy in case I was obliged, for any reason, to break the journey. When called upon to make distant trips of several days even weeks if my route was through parts inhabited by Japanese, if the distance was not great, three or four days, my supplies consisting of coffee, a little sugar, lots of tobacco and an extra flannel shirt, were carried in my saddle bags and a blanket and water proof strapped behind my saddle. On longer journeys I took with me an Ainu who carried extra supplies on his horse. Trips in the interior of which I made several, where not even an Ainu hut would be seen at days for a time, required two pack horses to carry a small tent and other necessities if the route was by land, if by river Ainu canoes simplified things very much. Former experiences had taught me the value of traveling light when "roughing it" was necessary. So even on the inland trips I

always found the very liberal allowance made me by the government more than sufficient to meet all expenses. The inland trips were delightful when the weather was fine, abominable when bad. I always took both rifle and shot gun with me and managed to keep the larder supplied with fresh meat. Occasionally a deer, always quantities of willow grouse in the woods and mandarin duck along the streams. On one occasion I was following up a small stream in quest of ducks when I was startled by a large wolf jumping out of some high grass within ten feet of me. Before he had got twenty yards away I had given him both barrels of duck shot in his behind. It seemed only to accelerate his retreat. The last I saw of him his bushy tail was whirling around like the propeller of an aeroplane. Bear signs were always plentiful and they would prowl around the camp in the most impudent manner at night. On one occasion when on a ten days canoe trip up the Ishikari river with my friend Mr. Boehmer, a tremendous fellow judging from his tracks in the sand passed, twice around our tent and between it and our party of Ainu who were sleeping outside within twenty yards of it. We occasionally sighted one in daylight but they always managed to get away before we could get in a shot. During my eight years in Hokkaido only once did I come to close quarters with a bear. He was badly wounded and in a very bad humor when I managed to get in his way. By a lucky shot from a heavy Remington rifle the subsequent proceedings interested him no more. He was about the size of a cow.

#

As an instance of tough work that sometimes came in my way I venture to tell of a rough ride that I shall never forget. I was at home one very wet night enjoying a book and cigar when, at about, ten o'clock a visitor was announced. When he was shown in, I recognized one of our best young men stationed at Niicappu. The poor chap was so

played out he could hardly stand or speak. I gave him a stiff drink of whisky. After its desired effect, he told me he had left Niicuppu that morning, that our best thoroughbred stallion "Dublin" was very ill and that he was sent by the manager to ask me to come at once. I felt sure my going was useless as the horse would be either well or dead before I could reach there. But there was an off chance that I might be in time to help and as the horse had cost \$5,000 in America, I decided that I could not disregard the urgent request to come. After instructions to feed the young man and put him to bed, at about eleven o'clock I was off on my 110 mile ride. It was raining torrents and continued to do so the entire night. I was riding a powerful native horse of my own that on a good road could make an eight or nine miles an hour for 25 or 30 miles. The road for the first 25 miles was of clay and in horrible condition. It took me six hours to cover it. This brought me to Chitose where I had a good breakfast and left my own horse, changing to a government post horse. Here I realized the utter folly of the job I had undertaken but a sense of duty and pride sent me on.

The road from Chitose entered a pumice region and was good until I reached the sand dunes near the sea. At Yufutsu on the sea which I reached about noon I had some food, changed horse again and was off again within half an hour after arrival. I was then 45 miles from Sapporo and began to feel the effects of the all night ride without sleep. Ten miles further on, where I changed again, the road follows the beach which is hard and good time can be made if horse and rider are in good trim, but only one half of my ride was finished and I realized that I could not make the other half. I got along fairly well for the next 20 or 25 miles changing horses twice. After that it was a nightmare. How I managed the next 20 miles I do not remember. I rode on half asleep never fully awake, suffering terribly from chafed legs caused by the wet that had found its way through

my water proof. About 8 p.m. I reached Chibichari 100 miles from Sapporo and 10 miles from the ranch. Here I met Mr. Iyani, our manager. He and the inn keeper helped me off and half carried me into the house. How is "Dub" I asked. All right, replied Iyani. After that I could only remember drinking some whisky hot, eating something, then oblivion for twelve hours.

The next morning with the exception of being very stiff and the absence of some square inches of skin from my hind parts, I was feeling fairly fit again. With a "futon" over my saddle I managed to make the remaining ten miles on the ranch where I found Dublin looking bright and cheerful. He had had a very bad attack of colic. Doubtless he kicked up a devil of a row while it lasted which was for a few hours only. Before and since then I have made the ride from Sapporo to the ranch and vice versa in one day without extreme fatigue but always a saki bure (messenger) was sent ahead the day before to have good horses ready at every post station and, moreover, I never started unless the weather was fine and, finally, most important of all, I had always a good night's rest before starting. Even under the most favorable conditions I never made the ride in less than eighteen or nineteen hours including an hour's rest at noon. I was sadly handicapped by my weight, about 185 pounds at that time. A rather big load for a Hokkaido pony. A Japanese friend of mine in charge of the stud at Nanai, and one of the finest horsemen I have ever met, would cover the same ground that I did in one third less time. But his weight was under 100 pounds. My record time between Sapporo and Nanai, 30 hours, is better than his but entirely owing to a steam boat waiting for me at Muroran to take me across Volcano bay to Mori. And also to the fact that my friend Hakodate never being in too great hurry to prevent him from loitering at any place where the "sake" was to his liking or where a pretty girl showed up. The life I led kept me as hard as iron and I

hardly knew what sickness was. On one occasion, however, I was overtaken by a severe diarrhea when fifteen miles on my way homeward bound, from Niicapu. There was a young man with me at the time whom I sent ahead. I cautioned him to say nothing to my wife, as I knew it was nothing serious, but to tell her that I was detained by business. She, suspecting from his manner that something was wrong, got the whole story from him within five minutes and made her arrangements accordingly. She ordered my Ainu hunter to have horses ready before daylight next morning and to accompany her. She was a light weight even for a Japanese woman and the Ainu was not much more. They made the 95 miles to where I was stopping under 15 hours. I was surprised indeed when she walked into my room as spry as you please. I was about all right again but decided to stay over a couple of days to give my wife a rest and witness, with her, an interesting Ainu festival that was taking place close by. It was a yearly affair that takes place when the salmon commence running up the rivers. Close by our honjin - a large inn established by the government for the accommodation of travelers - the Niicapu river enters the sea. The festival was held on a large sand bank between the river and sea. The only ornamental part of it consisted of hundreds of peeled stakes driven into the sand along the river and sea beach. The stakes were shaved from the top half way down into a mass of shavings that formed a festoon like heads [sic] to each stake. The festivities were kept up all day and most of the night when bon fires were kept blazing at many places. They consisted in the first place of all the men getting drunk and keeping in that condition as long as they had a sen in money or credit to buy "sake". There were over 100 of them. They would form circles, men and women clasping hands and hop around the ring chanting all the time. These chants or songs were rather pleasing to the ear, particularly the voices of the women were soft and clear. When my wife and self appeared on the scene we were at once set upon for a contribu-

tion to replenish their store of "sake" which was running low. We got in their good graces by a sufficient contribution to buy two kegs and thereafter had the run of the camp as honored guests. After we had seen enough of the performance and our curiosity was soon satisfied, a party of about 30 accompanied us back to the Honjin and had a special dance, in front of the hotel in our honor. It was not until I had sent out another keg of "sake" that we finally got rid of them. With their extra prize they went trooping back to their comrades. In crossing the river on their return one of the overloaded canoes capsized, the river was deep and rapid but all, men and women, old and young, swam ashore like ducks, or perhaps more like water dogs. Next morning we left for home going as far as Chitose, 70 miles where we spent the night. My wife accompanied me frequently in short trips and became a good horsewoman. She was never afraid and had a good seat and gentle but firm hands.

- The Ainu -

In 1884 the number of Ainu in Hokkaido was estimated at about 100,000. Only a small remnant of earlier days. The center of population was at Saru on the south coast where there were seven villages which had been large, but when I visited that place had dwindled until there were only a few hundred huts left. Their hereditary chief, Penre, had lost all semblance of dignity. He was a fine looking old chap but a great ^rdunkard. Whenever we met he always tapped me for two yen for "sake", he was perfectly satisfied with that amount but not with a sen less. As the Saru river swarmed with salmon trout in the season, I frequently fished it and considered the two yen well spent in securing the good will of the old villain and his villagers. The Ainu has many good qualities, they are gentle and faithful and not lacking in courage, are excellent fishermen, hunters and horsemen but soon tire of steady employment. In olden times they occupied almost all of Japan, certainly further south than Kyoto as

the names of rivers and places testify to this day. They had, in all probability invaded Japan from the north coming from Siberia and perhaps, Kamchatka, Sakhalin and Hokkaido into Japan proper. They found a race of people, called the Koro Pok Goro or pit dwellers, according to Ainu tradition, occupying Hokkaido and northern Japan. These aborigines were gradually driven south by the Ainu who in turn were driven north by the Japanese. In their palmy days the Ainu seem to have been well governed. For a primitive people their laws and customs were excellent. Their morals would, perhaps, compare favorably with those of some so-called highly civilized people of today. When finally subdued by the Japanese, they gradually degenerated. Reduced to a condition of servitude, their spirit as a people was broken and "sake" and disease did the rest. Before the restoration the coast and rivers of Hokkaido were divided into fishing districts which were sold to the highest bidder by the government. The fishing privileges included services of the Ainu living in the respective districts. This form of slavery was done away with after the restoration.

But even the debauched remnant of this one time most interesting people still have excellent qualities. I always had one or two Ainu in my employ to look after my horses and as hunters. I always found them faithful, honest and courageous. As hunters and trackers they equal the American Indian. When on extended trips I always took with me, for their use, a sufficient quantity of "sake" of which I would measure out to each twice or three times a day what I considered sufficient. They always seemed satisfied with what I gave them, never asking for more. As trackers of wounded deer they are invaluable. After the deer has made off they would always wait to give the poor beast time to weaken from loss of blood. Then they would follow the trail unerringly. A drop of blood here, a broken weed or a foot print that I would not notice

at all was sufficient guide for them. After a time they would notice indications that the animal was seeking a place in which to lie down, then they would beckon me to come up close. Sometimes the poor creature would be found dead in its lair, generally it had enough vitality left to make another try for liberty but a well planted bullet at close quarters usually finished the business. As for their courage I remember one occasion when I had been out deer hunting with my pet Ainu. On the second day it set in to rain violently. The next morning we started for home, much to my disgust, when we reached the Toyohira river we found the bridge down, at one end, in the water. Below the bridge there was a wide and easy ford at ordinary times but, although the water had subsided very much it was still running very strong. While I was confident the very powerful horse I was riding could get across without difficulty it was a different matter for the small pony the Ainu was riding. So I bade him wait until the water ran down and I would cross alone. I rode in and was nearly across when I heard a commotion behind me. I looked back and saw my Ainu and his pony rolling down stream at an alarming rate of speed. Finally they both landed safely on the Sapporo side. I asked the Ainu why he had disobeyed my orders. His reply was "Where the mishipo (master) goes Ainu follow". When he saw me in mid stream he knew perfectly well from the fact that my big horse was having about all he could do to keep his feet that his little pony could not possibly get across on his feet. He did cross but landed on the other side 200 yards below his starting place and was a very delapidated looking Ainu when he did so.

They get about when hunting without making the least noise. They wear deer skin moccasins and never speak. Their communications are all by signs. I used the same foot gear until I got some Canadian moccasins which are the best foot gear in the world for a hunter. Anything in the shoe or boot line is an abomination. The Ainu are poor marksmen owing to never having had a decent gun to shoot with. All they had then was a smooth

bore muzzle loading carbine with twenty four inch barrel that carried a round ball of an ounce in weight. At 30 yards it is deadly, at 40 uncertain and at 50 no good at all. No Ainu would dream of taking a chance shot even at a deer 60 yards away. When they saw that I rarely, if ever, failed at 125 yards and generally got home at 150 or 200, they looked upon my shooting as something marvelous. On two occasions I made flukes that flabbergasted them. One was a running buck that I missed twice and brought down with the third shot at 325 yards when running at full speed. The second was a buck standing in an open snow covered plain 450 yds from me. As there was no possibility of approaching nearer I took an off hand shot at him. He fell in his tracks, dead. I was just about as much surprised as the Ainu standing by me but passed it off as nothing unusual. The heads of these and that of a third all secured on the same outing I kept for years over my front door at Sapporo. The third buck was running directly from me and about 125 yds distant when I fired. He ran on for 75 or 100 yds, when he dropped dead. The 50 calibre bullet had struck him fairly in the buttock, passed entirely through him lengthwise and out at his neck. When we cut him up we found that in its passage the bullet had laid open one ventricle of the heart. I had known before that a deer could, at times, run away with enough lead in him to have dropped a bear in his tracks but had never heard of such vitality as was shown in this instance.

- Instances of Man's Vitality -

As regard to vitality man seems to be well endowed with it as any of the lower animals. In 1878 or 79 two Englishmen, Sir R. Beauchamp and a Mr. Wilson came to Hokkaido to get some deer shooting. They arrived in January and made camp at a place near Bibi about 30 miles south of Sapporo. It was very cold and the snow was from 2 to 3 feet deep. Deer were scarce and difficult to approach. One morning Mr. Wilson got on the

track of a deer which he followed for several hours. Finally sometime in the afternoon he succeeded in killing his deer but in following its trail in many directions was completely lost. The sky being over cast and not being provided with a compass, he had no means of determining his position. A prudent man in his position would have followed back on his own trail no matter how crooked it was, but he, not realizing his danger, struck out in what he thought was the direction to camp. The result was disastrous. He wandered about all night. It was very cold, several degrees below zero and he knew that his only chance was to keep moving. He kept on the next day until evening when becoming entirely exhausted his last recollection was grasping a small tree and walking around it in a last effort to keep awake. In the mean time his comrade had been searching for him since early morning, now and then firing his gun in the hope of Wilson hearing it. As night approached Beauchamp gave up in despair of finding him and started back for camp with the intention of going to Bibi for help. When within a mile of camp he fired his gun again and imagined he heard a faint cry near at hand. He hastened to the spot indicated by the call and to his great joy found Wilson lying on the ground in an almost senseless state. Beauchamp must have been a very powerful man for he got Wilson on his back and carried him to their camp almost a mile distant. Wilson had no recollection of hearing Beauchamp's last shot nor of calling out. He must have been in a subconscious condition when he did so. It was one of the nearest things that I ever heard of. Wilson must have been ten or twelve miles from camp when he killed the deer. In his attempt to reach it he wandered in many directions for 24 hours. By mere chance he got within a mile of it when he gave out completely. By an almost equal chance Beauchamp passed near the place where Wilson was lying and at just the right moment fired off his gun and elicited a cry from the almost unconscious man. Another hour and Wilson would have been dead. On hearing of the mishap I rigged up

a Russian sledge with a mattress on it and brought Wilson to Sapporo where he had every attention. He was looked after by Dr. Cutter, chief of the Sapporo hospital. He was badly frozen and lost all of his toes and part of one foot. He was frozen in many other places which made deep and painful wounds but he took it all smiling without a complaint or, seemingly, without a regret.

The same or the next year a still more remarkable case of surviving occurred. On the 29th of March two men and a boy of fifteen or sixteen left the military settlement at Ebetsubuto very early in the morning for Sapporo 15 miles distant. They expected to reach Sapporo before noon and took only a lunch with them. At that season of the year the snow melts during the day and freezes hard at night so that until about noon traveling on the snow is first class. Even fox or horse sledge go over it without leaving a trace: The party in question anticipated no difficulty in reaching Sapporo. In fact the trip was made every day by some of the villagers. But, unfortunately this particular party was overtaken by a blizzard before going half the distance and were forced to seek shelter in a grove of trees some distance off the direct route. The blizzard proved to be a very bad one. It continued all night and day. Much snow fell and it turned intensely cold. The party were so badly frozen during the night that they were helpless. They managed to crawl to a thicket of tall reeds through which a small brook of unfrozen water flowed. By using reeds as pipes they managed to suck up all the water they wanted but they were entirely without food. To cut a long story short the two men died within a week. The boy was found alive 29 days after he had left his home. His memory of what occurred for the first ten days seemed to be quite clear. He said that after his comrades died foxes and crows fed on their bodies, he was too weak to drive them away. He managed to get their clothing which kept him

fairly warm. The bodies of the men were much mutilated. I have often wondered if that boy assisted the foxes and crows. He declared that all he had was water to drink. Who could blame the poor suffering wretch if he helped himself to ^e something else? Dr. Cutter amputated both of his legs below the knee. He also lost parts of almost all of his fingers. Dr. Cutter's account of the case was published in an American medical journal of the highest standing. It can doubtless be found without difficulty today. I saw the boy on several occasions after he was discharged from the hospital.

#

In addition to deer Hokkaido was pretty well stocked with small game which afforded fairly good sport. But the finest sport of all was the salmon trout fishing. During the season that the fish would take the fly the sport was very fine. Captain Blakiston of Hakodate would join us almost every year in fishing the Toyohira which was perhaps, the finest river in the island for salmon trout. The fish ran from 3 to 12 pounds and in rapid water gave any one but a hog all the fun he could desire. Blakiston was far and away the best of the lot in handling a rod. To see him manipulating a two handed rod with bad ground back of him was a delight in itself.

Blakiston was one of the most interesting men I ever met. A delightful and instructive companion, a staunch friend to those who gained his confidence, unapproachable to those he did not like. He had been a captain of artillery in his country's service, was a veteran of the Crimean war, was ordered to China in 1858 bringing out the first battery of Armstrong guns ever sent east of the Cape. He with a companion were the first white men to ascend and pass beyond the rapids of the Yangstekyang. [sic] His account of the trip published in book form, now out of print, is a most interesting work. His Birds of Japan is still the standard work on the

subject.

Extermination of the Deers [sic]

When I first went to Hokkaido deer was very plentiful in all parts of the island during warm weather. With the first big fall of snow, usually about the first of December, they migrated in great herds to the south and west coasts where the snow fall was much less. In early December 1885 I made a visit to one of their favorite winter feeding grounds. I found them coming in in droves of from a dozen to fifty. I selected and shot four fat young bucks and cached the meat until our return. Afterwards I spent the day sightseeing. With my Ainu hunter we rode by many herds coming in. On horseback by gradually coming in on a herd passing through wooded land I found we could approach within 40 or 50 yards without causing alarm. Had I desired I could have shot 50 without difficulty but as I have always considered killing the more game than can be used as simple murder I did not fire a shot. At such time the Ainu get in their work, laying in a store of meat and hides for winter use. After the deer scattered in their winter quarters they were not so easy to approach.

The winters of 1878 - 79 were very severe. The snow extending from coast to coast. Had they been unmolested the deer would have pulled through without very great loss but unfortunately there was a great demand for hides and horns at that time. The poor improvident Ainu could not resist the temptation of immediate gain. The deer had collected in thousands in the most sheltered valleys and ravines where, owing to the deep snow, the Ainu on snow shoes overtook them easily and slaughtered many tens of thousands with clubs and dogs. In the Mukawa district alone - 15 miles by 5 - 75,000 skeletons were counted in the spring by men sent by the government to ascertain the loss. And the same government did nothing whatever to prevent the slaughter from being repeated the next year in a less degree as there were fewer deer to kill. The result was practical

extermination. There were a few deer left but whereas before one could always rely upon getting plenty of venison when on an outing, afterwards tinned meats were in order. And the fool Ainu instead of delicious venison was obliged to live entirely on dried fish and lily roots.

Second Visit of His Majesty.

In 1881 the Emperor visited Hokkaido accompanied by a large number of dignitaries. I had the honor of accompanying him to several of our places which he wished to see. We had a beautiful half mile race course in the Sapporo park where we arranged to have some races for His Majesty's pleasure. We had quite a number [of] half bred colts as well as native ponies which had had some previous training that showed up fairly well. We also had several of our stud stallions there for His Majesty's inspection. His Majesty expressed a wish to see Dublin in action and that I should ride him. At least I was so informed but I always believed the suggestion had been made to His Majesty and he only approved it. In his day Dublin had been one of Kentucky's crack race horses but of course was entirely out of training. But he had had his daily exercise daily and was not beefy. So I counted upon getting about 200 yards of fair speed out of him but not more. I started him at a canter with two native ponies leading about 200 yards ahead. I followed them around the first turn and up the back stretch when I began to close in and was just behind when we entered the home stretch. I then let the old fellow go. He responded like a colt, passed the ponies in three strides and the Emperor's stand at fine speed considering his condition. Before reaching the next turn I felt that Dublin was pumped so I pulled him up and rode slowly around the track to the Emperor's stand. Dublin had then got back his wind and showed up finely, excited as he was with his gallop. Before this I had been acting as judge of the races my box being entirely opposite His Majesty's stand. After the races were over I was received by His Majesty who was pleased to say he had enjoyed the sport very much.

THE SAPPORO AGRICULTURAL COLLEGE.

No one has a greater admiration for the Sapporo Agricultural College than I and no one recognizes more fully the good work it has done for Japan. In proportion to its endowment I believe it has turned out more men of mark than any other institution of learning in the country. Hosts of its graduates are warm friends of mine today and there is not one of them whom I do not respect and esteem. Therefore I wish to state emphatically that what I have to say regarding that admirable institution is in no sense derogatory of the work it has already accomplished and is doing today.

From the time of my arrival in Japan until his retirement as Chief of the Kaitakushi in 1881, my relations with General Kuroda were very satisfactory to me and I believe he regarded me with respect and esteem. In the beginning I had many interviews with him regarding agricultural development and stock raising in Hokkaido. As we became better acquainted and perhaps, his confidence in me increased, we frequently discussed other questions relating to the development of the island that were foreign to my speciality. On one occasion I ventured to point out to him the sad condition into which the fisheries - by far the most valuable industry of Hokkaido at that time - were drifting. The terrible waste apparent to the most casual observer and the almost entire absence of government control. I gave him a paper I had on the New Foundland fisheries which, at that time yielded about £15,000,000 annually, greatly due to the strict control and supervision, whereas the entire Hokkaido fisheries including the Kurile islands did not yield one twentieth of that amount. The enormous waste in the herring fisheries alone, the catch of which amounted to thousands of tons, almost all of which was piled in enormous heaps on the nearest beach, was boiled in great iron kettles and then placed in hand presses and pressed into square cubes and shipped away as fish manure. The oil pressed out was allowed to flow back into the sea. The almost complete

blocking of salmon and salmon trout from their spawning beds by the nets and traps of the fishermen who were subject to no control whatever, I also spoke of the reckless waste of valuable timber also subject to no control or supervision. In regard to my special work I said that while well enough in its way it was not extensive enough to have much influence throughout the island. I urged that all industries in Hokkaido should be subjected to government control and supervision. But to be effective the control should be exercised by men who understood their business, otherwise it would be worse than useless.

To meet the situation I suggested that a school be established at Sapporo where practical instruction be given in the industries indicated by thoroughly competent men selected from abroad, that the technical instruction or class room work be limited to the winter months when too cold for actual work in the field. In short my idea was a small school of technology which could be enlarged to meet the development of the island. The above is a synopsis of several interviews with General Kuroda who seemed impressed with my views and said they would be carefully considered and probably adopted with amplifications which might seem desirable. General Kuroda returned to Tokio where he spent the greater part of his time and I heard nothing more of the project for some months when I learned that the Japanese Minister at Washington had been instructed to engage a number of professors for the purpose of establishing an industrial school at Sapporo. There seems to have been but little left of the project talked over with General Kuroda when it got to Washington. The minister evidently believed that what was wanted was an agricultural college and in that belief selected the Amherst Agricultural College as the best model obtainable. He engaged the services of Professor Clark, at that time president of the Amherst College, and Professor Clark naturally selected as his assistants a number of graduates of that institution to go

with him to Japan. Professor Clark, was an able man, a good leader and organizer of men. He came to establish a fac-simile of the Amherst institution of learning at Sapporo and did it, perhaps improved on the original. The practical instruction given in an American agricultural college is very little. The great majority of students of such institutions are sons of farmers and are well instructed in all practical farm work before they enter the college. They go there to get technical knowledge unobtainable at home. The agricultural college supplies this want and is, therefore, of the utmost importance in any farming community, where as a rule the ignorance of high farming is astonishing, but in Japan such institutions are valueless. There is no material to work with. In the first place the sons of Japanese farmers do not attend college and if they did the methods of agriculture in the two countries are so different that, excepting the value and application of fertilizers, the teaching of the American institution could have but small results. It is true we were attempting to introduce American methods into Hokkaido but that could only be accomplished by practical work in the field. The Sapporo Agricultural College, as an educational institution was a success from the start. It was well conducted by very competent men. Its carefully selected students from the southern schools were intellectually and morally of a very high class. Under Presidents Clark, Penhallow, Brooks and lastly, under the able guidance of President Sato, it has become a most admirable institution of learning and has well earned its present rank as university. But in so far as its influence and effect upon the industries of Hokkaido are concerned it might just as well have been located in Tokio or any other place in Japan proper. My object was, exclusively, the development of the industries of Hokkaido. President Clark's, the foundation of an institution of learning. He succeeded. I did not. As a result the fisheries yield but a tithe of what they did then, the beautiful forests of valuable timber that covered the entire island [that] might

have been preserved as a store house for all Japan have been recklessly wasted until but a remnant remains. But Sapporo has her university at the cost of a great part of the wealth that nature gave the island. But what of it? The college and university have always been most highly spoken of and President Clark is canonized as a benefactor of Japan generally and Hokkaido in particular. Who knows or cares what might have been had the simple little school of common sense been established instead of the institution of learning? "What fools we mortals be".

While the story of the Sapporo Agricultural College is rather a sore memory with me I feel that my work there has borne some fruit in improved methods and products of farming and in better horses cattle and swine.

- Communications - The Kaitakushi - Tundenhei + Fisheries -

In 1887 - 88 the Otaru Sapporo railway was built. Mr. J.U. Crawford of the P.C.R.R. was selected for the work and proved himself to be the right man in the right place. He infused energy and team work in whatever he undertook. He was given five years to complete the line. He told General Kuroda he would do it within two and he did it. Before the two years were up both passenger and freight trains were running on schedule time between Sapporo and Otaru. The cost of the line, including rolling stock and stations was less than ¥23,000 per mile. After he had established means of transport and communication he started in to straighten his line and improve it generally. He had with him as assistant engineers a Mr. Brown, of California, a most competent man and two young Japanese engineers Messrs Matsumoto and Hirai, both of whom were practically unknown at that time, but in after years were in succession chiefs of the Imperial Government Railways. After Crawford's return to the United States Matsumoto and Hirai completed the net work of railways as they are practically today and which have done more for the prosperity of Hokkaido than all that had been done before. Crawford's energy and ability

initiated a system of push in railway construction in Hokkaido that was imparted to and never lost by his able successors.

If in the beginning General Kuroda had been more fortunate in the choice of his adviser capable of making a well formulated plan for the development of Hokkaido and had had the assistance of a man like Crawford to establish means of communication throughout the island, the story of the Kaitakushi would have been far different from what it is. At that time the leading men of Japan had little knowledge of conditions abroad and practically, none at all of foreign industries. In all government undertakings foreign advisers were employed and, naturally, their advice was accepted almost without question. General Kuroda went to Washington in search of a competent adviser to the Colonization department of Hokkaido and President Grant selected General Horace Capron for the post. Probably the President did not realize in the least the responsibility he incurred in making the selection. Perhaps he viewed it only as an excellent opportunity to get rid of an occupant of an important government office and make a place for some one of more political value. General Kuroda believed he had secured the very best man possible for the post. That General Capron must be a man of a high order of intelligence and ability to have received the endorsement of the President of the United States for an important position in a friendly country that had appealed to him to make a suitable selection. Instead of an able man upon whose judgement he could rely, it was not long before the officials of the Kaitakushi ascertained that they had secured a broken reed, an incompetent man with no conception of the natural resources of Hokkaido or of what was necessary for their development.

He had an able staff. Dr. Anticell, a prominent chemist of Washington; Dr. B.S. Lyman, a geologist and mining engineer of Philadelphia; his assistant, Mr. S. Munroe; Lieut. Com. M.S. Day, U.S.N. as chief of the survey department[:] Mr. Boehmer, a scientific and practical horticulturist

and Mr. Holt a thoroughly competent millwright. But with such a chief there was no possibility of team work. Each man was assigned to his special little job and each endeavored to do it in the best of his ability. There was no view in common. The general development of Hokkaido did not come within their individual province. The pity of it! What a chance was lost in not sending a big brainy man instead of Capron! I have often wondered if President Grant's conscience never troubled him for the crime he perpetrated upon a friendly and trusting people. Americans have, with reason, always boasted of the friendship shown by their country towards Japan. Was this act of their President a friendly one?

The government established military settlement at several places in Hokkaido. Each man was furnished with a comfortable house, heated in cold weather by a Russian stove, and given eight acres of land surrounding his house. These men - the Tundenhei or military settlers - with their families were of a very good class of people and the best settlers of Hokkaido today are perhaps their descendants. The Tundenhei were, of course liable to be called out for military duty at any time. They furnished a regiment to assist in suppressing the Satsuma Rebellion in 1877. They were well drilled, armed and equipped.

The land in the Hokkaido capable of cultivation is very limited in extent. I estimate it at no more than 10% of the whole. While of fine mechanical structure and easily worked it is sadly lacking in fertility when compared with the lands of the middle and western states of the United States. In the latter regions the farmer is sure of securing twenty to thirty crops without the use of an ounce of fertilizer on his land. In large areas it is not even necessary to resort to rotation. In the former he must have recourse to fertilizers after the second crop as a rule.

The agricultural products of Hokkaido will never be more than sufficient to support its own population and in the matter of rice production there will, in all probability, always be a deficit.

When I first went to Hokkaido the run of salmon up the principal streams was enormous. The Ishikari run was particularly great. In addition to the hundreds of nets used day and night in fishing the river itself, there was one very big one, more than a mile in length, used to fish the sea at the mouth of the river. Every morning weather permitting it was carried out in large boats which cut across the line of greatest run of fish and, after making great circle, the end of it would be landed near the starting place. The net was so long and heavy that it required the entire day to make one haul but the catch was very large. I witnessed the final stages of one haul and was informed it was a very good one. The number of salmon taken in that particular haul was over 12,000.

The fishing rights along the coast and up the rivers were sold by the government to companies over which no restraint nor control of any kind was exercised. Fewer and fewer fish reached their spawning beds and year by year the runs decreased until the yearly catch was but a small fraction of what it had been. Too late the government realized that the "goose" was about to be killed and established a fisheries commission to take control. The chief of the commission was Mr. Katsutaka Ito an able and energetic man. He established hatcheries on the head waters of the Ishikari and introduced the large spring salmon of the Columbia river and the king salmon of Siberia and Kamchatka. He also enforced regulations that permitted the native fish to run up unmolested for a part of the day, to their spawning grounds. The third and fourth year[s] after Mr. Ito started his work, showed noticeable results. Instead of the 12-15 pound native salmon, fish weight, 30 pounds or more were frequently taken. Enough to demonstrate that the rivers of Hokkaido could be restocked

with far better fish than the native salmon if the government persisted and extended the work started by Mr. Ito. But at the end of the fourth year the appropriation for the Hokkaido fisheries commission was withdrawn and the commission ceased to exist. All that remains of Mr. Ito's efforts are the records of a very interesting experiment.

- Warfare in Hokkaido -

The history of the revolution that ousted the Shogun and restored the Imperial government tells us of Admiral Enomoto's running away from Yedo Bay with the Shogun's fleet to Hakodate where he established himself and proclaimed a republican form of government for Hokkaido. His position at Hakodate was very strong. The Imperial forces failed to dislodge him by attacks from the north and he had entire command of the sea. General Kuroda conceived a plan of scaling Hakodate head from the sea and taking Enomoto in the rear. Hakodate head is 3,000 feet high and on the seaside for half the distance up is almost unapproachable. Enomoto believing his position from that side unapproachable did not even have a guard on the top of the head. Kuroda selected a dark night for his attempt, led a picked body of men up the seemingly unscalable side of the mountain and down to the rear of the fort commanding the bay. The garrison were taken completely by surprise and surrendered almost without firing a shot. This forced the surrender of the fleet. The terms of surrender provided that the lives of Enomoto, his officers and men should be spared. Enomoto and his officers were sent to Tokio and disregarding General Kuroda's promise to them, Enomoto and Generals Otori and Arai were condemned to death. Kuroda entered a strong protest against the sentence and declared that if it was carried out he would be obliged to commit harakiri to save his honor. After two years spent in prison the condemned men were all pardoned. When General Kuroda

was made chief of the Kaitakushi he appointed Enomoto, Otori and Arai to important posts in that department. I may mention that Count Hayashi, many years afterwards ambassador to England and later minister for Foreign Affairs, was a young officer in Enomoto's command. As Enomoto, Otori and Arai all spoke English fluently and were charming gentlemen in every way they were, naturally, very popular with all the American employees in the department. In after years I got to know Admiral Enomoto intimately and valued his friendship very highly.

In 1881 General Kuroda retired as chief of the Kaitakushi and was succeeded for a short time by Admiral Count Kawamura who in turn was succeeded by Count, afterwards Marquis Saigo. As the Kaitakushi was to be abolished at the end of 1882, the work of the department was confined to routine after the retirement of General Kuroda. For a few years it was administered by the central government until Ken governments were established in Hokkaido.

So ended the Kaitakushi. While it accomplished enough to save it from being classed as a failure, it left undone so much that might have been accomplished that it cannot be classed as a success. The ten best years of my life were spent in its service. Little to my personal advantage but I treasure the thought that they were not altogether uselessly wasted in the service of the people of Japan whom I had learned to esteem so highly.

At the expiration of my term of service His Imperial Majesty was pleased to confer upon me the order of the fifth class of the Rising Sun in recognition of my services.

In December 1882 I left Hokkaido with my wife and daughter spending the winter in Tokio and in visiting places of interest which in

those days were, by no means as easy of access as they are today. I found the Tokio Club newly established in the Rokumeikan and was elected a member there of. There I made hosts of friends with whom I was intimately associated in after years.

- Vacation in America -

After many consultations with my wife it was decided that I should go to America with our daughter Helen, then five years of age, leave her with my parents and sisters and if possible make a home where I could bring my wife later on. Helen and I were received at home with affectionate welcome, not only by my own people but also by our many relatives, all still living at the old places. Helen soon became the pet of the family and to me it was delightful to meet them all again. In the beginning there was nothing to mar the joy of it, but in a short time I began to realize that I was not the same man that had left them ten years before. That the little place amongst them that I had always thought of as my own no longer existed or, rather, that the man who filled it so nicely ten years before was not the same as he who came back to claim it. The boys and girls with whom I had associated from childhood were middle aged people with families of their own and the kids I had left in short skirts and trousers were filling the places I had filled. While enjoying their affection I felt that, of my own making, I was a stranger among them.

My advice to any young man is: Never leave your own country with the idea of making a permanent career in a foreign land with the intention of returning home some day to enjoy the fruits of it. His love of country may remain unimpaired, his glory in its progress as keen as when he left it. In fact, I believe the exile's interest in his country's well

|being is, as a

rule, keener than that of the resident who accepts whatever comes as a matter of course. But he who has lived long abroad will, on his return, miss many little things that have become part of his life. He left before

his habits had become fixed, when he returns he finds he cannot fit himself in with what is to him a new condition of things.

In May 1883 I went west spending the summer in Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Montana. After spending some time at Portland, Seattle and Tacoma and visiting the lumber region of Puget Sound, I made Spokane Falls my headquarters, making frequent visits from there through the surrounding country. As far north as the British Columbia line and as far away in other directions, covering a great part of the magnificent farming country that was scarcely settled then but the best lands had been all pretty well pre-empted. I made most of these trips by "buck board". The greater part of the time I camped out as houses were few and far between and I felt more independent and just as comfortable with my own outfit.

It never rains in that vast region from May until November. Wherever wood, water and grass are to be had the traveller has his night's lodging. He stakes out or hobbles his horses, makes his fire, cooks his bacon if nothing better is in the larder, boils his coffee, rolls himself in his blanket and sleeps as he never slept under a roof. One night, in what is called the "big bend country" I made camp on a small tributary of the Columbia.

Shortly afterwards another party in a spring wagon, located for the night quite near me. After I had finished my supper I strolled over to make a call. Much to my surprise I found the outfit consisted of two very nice looking young women. I soon ascertained that they were well educated, well brought up and very intelligent. They were on a prospecting trip in search of unlocated land where they could locate a home for themselves. They knew the west well and said they felt perfectly safe. Men in that country, no matter how bad in other respects, rarely molest women. They were well supplied with shooting irons also, which no doubt, they knew how to use. They gave me a cup of their coffee which I found ever so much better

than my own. In return I brought them some prairie chickens I had shot and returned to my own fire side.

- Our Trip to Loonlake -

In company with a cowboy of decidedly bad manners and a young man from the east I made a trip to Loons lake, [sic] a fine sheet of water about ten miles in length by five broad. The road to Ft Colville passes by the western end of the lake. It is bounded on the north and south by precipitous and very high mountains. We were informed by an Englishman, the first white man that had ever been there, that at the eastern end there was a valley of magnificent land which had not yet been surveyed. Mr. Absolem, our informant, said he had got to this garden spot by crossing the mountains to the north of the lake. That although the climbing in places was pretty tough, he had got over in one day without very great difficulty. So we three hired a two horse spring wagon and driver and started one morning in July, for Loonlake, seventy miles north from Spokane Falls. The road was good and we made camp on the lake before dark. The next morning we had a look at those mountains and realised we were in for about the toughest job we had ever undertaken. We had failed to take into account the fact that Mr. Absolem was a first class athlete. He had come out to Australia as one of England's eleven to trim the colonists conception of themselves as cricketers and had accomplished the job properly. Absolem was also a mountaineer of note. He never saw a high mountain that he did not want to climb to the very top and generally did. The cow boy and self were all there on horseback but were poor infantry on rough country. As for the young man with us he was just a young man from the east, perhaps a good average there but a poor one where he found himself. We started up the mountain and in less than an hour we found ourselves in woeful trouble. Instead of making for the highest ridge and following it as Absolem did, we attempted a short cut by cutting across the slope about half way up. We found that slope a succession of spurs and deep ravines running

down the lake and covered with the most tremendous growth of timber I had ever seen. The ravines were so clogged with fallen trees that, as a rule, we could only cross by climbing along the body of some monstrous pine cedar, or redwood, twenty feet or more from the bottom. In one such crossing we started up a large cinnamon bear. My Winchester was on my back but owing to the awkward position we were in, failed to get a shot. The first day, we possibly made three miles from our starting point. It was the 19th of July, my birthday, and although we were over 7,000 feet above the sea it had been very warm during the day, probably between 90 and 100 F.H. in the middle of the day. As soon as the sun disappeared the temperature fell at a wonderful rate. We made camp in a ravine and built a rousing fire but towards morning were shivering from the cold. I found my blanket, a small one, covered with frost. Fortunately for us we found the woods alive with coveys of young grouse of three varieties. One variety known out there as the blue grouse is a magnificent bird, as large as a chicken when full grown. The ruffed grouse were in great numbers and lastly there were "fool hen" that one can frequently knock over with a stick. During the day we had shot as many of these birds as we required. They were so tame we got all we wanted with our revolvers. When flushed from the ground they would make for the lowest branches of the nearest tree and allow us to approach with ten or twenty feet before making another move. We roasted as many of them as we could eat over our fire with strips of bacon as seasoning. The second day was a repetition of the first. We camped in another ravine, had more grouse but biscuits were all gone and bacon about finished. The third day we entered the promised land about dark. Grouse plentiful but absolutely nothing else. We were obliged to eat them without salt, but had plenty of fine drinking water to wash them down with. The manna was becoming somewhat monotonous. When we entered the valley we saw a drove of deer within a quarter of a mile. I tried to stalk them but without success. With heavy boots on what else could one expect? The next

day we explored our valley. It was a beautiful place of 2,000 or 3,000 acres in extent, dry but well watered and covered with the finest grass I ever saw outside of Kentucky or Ohio. It was alive with deer, elk, and judging from the size of the foot prints, reindeer also. But we were by this time too anxious to get back to the supplies of our wagon to waste time in trying for specimens. It was then as it is today, doubtless, a beautiful spot. But the cold night we spent in mid July told us that its summers must be too short for agricultural purposes and its winters very severe with much snow. We saw signs of Indian encampments but there were none there at the time of our visit. We all swore we would never go over these mountains again and decided to try the lake shore going back. We found this route comparatively easy. With the exception of a few spurs that we were obliged to cross we found the shore practicable all the way. We were often obliged to wade, often pretty deep, but that was a delightful exchange for those horrid ravines. We started early from the valley and made our wagon before dark. Our driver saw us coming a long way off and knew what we would want when we got in. He had ready for us such a feast as I have seldom enjoyed. Fine trout he had caught, ham and biscuit and tinned things and best of all, lots of coffee. I had had nothing to smoke for two days and had been reduced to chewing plug of which our cow boy was well supplied. Any smoker can realize my delight on finding a box of cigars I had left in my grip intact.

- Our Visit to Deer Lodge -

About August 1st Captain Blakiston joined me at Spokane. He had come across from Hokodate in a sailing vessel and had occupied his time in taking the temperature of the sea several times every day in order to determine the flow of currents north along the Asiatic coast and south down the coast of America. His observations demonstrated that the Kurosiwo or Black Current could have no influence whatever upon the climate of the

Pacific Coast as it is generally supposed to have. The mild climate of that coast was entirely due to the southerly winds from the Pacific that prevailed during the winter months. These winds are known in the western states and Canada as the Chencok [sic] winds. We spent August in Idaho and Montana visiting the unsettled regions of those states. At that time the Northern Pacific railway was nearing completion. When we reached the Pacific end of it there was a gap of one hundred miles between that end and the eastern terminus at Deer Lodge in Montana. We traveled across this gap partly by wagon but over the last part, which is very mountainous and was being tunneled, on foot. We spent two days at Deer Lodge which at that time was considered the worst town in the United States. Originally it was a mining camp. When the terminus of the N.P. railway was temporarily established there gamblers, cow boys and toughs of all kinds flocked in and the gun was the law. The southern part of the town was all gambling dens saloons and dance halls. Blakiston and I spent an evening in this part of the town. We wanted to see for ourselves how the frequenters conducted themselves. Almost every man we met, and there seemed to be thousands of them, was a walking arsenal, but as a rule very quiet in speech and manner. They seemed to have a code of their own in which the proper answer to bluster and abuse was a pistol shot. Too much bad whisky was the greater cause of a row, a misunderstanding, which were frequently followed by funerals the next morning. We visited several gambling rooms all of which were orderly. We saw hundreds of men playing faro, poker, roulette and other games. So far as we observed they cashed in their chips or accepted their losses without a word. But we were told many shootings occurred. When only two were engaged both were, frequently subjects for the coroner next day. We were entirely unmolested. Perhaps because we minded our own business, possibly because we did not look like profitable chickens to pluck. Shortly after our visit the two ends of the

N.P. railway were joined. The railway men were scattered and the money that made the boom at Deer Lodge was no longer to be had. The gamblers moved to more inviting fields and the marshal and his deputies got the upper hand with the toughs and within a short time Deer Lodge became an orderly, law abiding town.

From Deer Lodge we visited Helena and near that place a large hydraulic gold mining plant where mountains of earth were washed down into flames by enormous jets of water from eight inch pipes with a lead of 300 feet and four inch nozzels. We witnessed a cleanup after a three days run and were told it was a good one. Certainly the amount of gold collected from the flume was very valuable.

- The Geysers - Yellowstone Park -

From Helena we went to Yellowstone Park. At Livingstone we hired an outfit consisting of a two horse wagon, extra riding horse and a driver. The latter was also our guide and soon became our friend. He proved himself to be one of the best of thousands of splendid plain[s] men to be found at that time. There was no guile in him. Open, free and resourceful he was full of humor and had a store of anecdotes that he would relate in the quaint lingo of the west that would make us chuckle in our camp fire sleep. He was the kind of man that Blakiston delighted in. It was fine to note the terms of absolute equality upon which the somewhat stern old veteran of the Crimea accepted his friend of the plains. And the affectionate care shown by the latter for the elderly Englishman in whom he recognized a man among men, was equally pleasing. He was with us during two weeks of camp life and I am sure it was a wrench for all when we parted. At the entrance of the park we stopped at an outfitting place consisting of a few tents. As we entered the place we passed by a young man on horseback who was having a rather heated conversation with another man, a German, on foot. We had been in the store but a few minutes when we heard a pistol shot. We ran out and found the young man lying on

the ground. We tried to raise him up but he died in our arms. The bullet from a heavy colt had passed entirely through his chest. We saw his assailant running as fast as he could for some timber land.

At that time there were no hotels in the park. The Mammoth [sic] Springs Hotel, near the entrance, was building and one wing of it so near finished that quite a number of guests could be very comfortably accommodated. We reached the hotel in the evening and although Mr. Hatch had arrived the day before with a large party of ladies and gentlemen from New York, were given very comfortable quarters. After supper quite a party rode up. Amongst them we recognized the store keeper from whom we had obtained our supplies that morning. He informed me that they were after that -----Dutchman and if we desired to see a neck tie party we might have that pleasure by joining them. We made our excuses and spent a very pleasant evening with some of the guests of the hotel instead. One of the most noticeable of these was U.S. Senator Beck of Kentucky. The Senator had that day visited the Norris geyser basin about twenty miles from the hotel. The Norris basin is filled with small bad smelling mud geysers not at all interesting when compared to the great upper fields. Senator Beck expressed himself as quite satisfied with what he had seen and intended returning east next morning. He said all the geysers big and little, worked on the same principle. In fact the force that caused a tea kettle to boil over was identical with that which caused the Sheridan geyser to throw a column of water forty feet in diameter, three hundred and fifty feet in the air and hold it pulsing up and down for hours at a time. The learned Senator said he had endured a very uncomfortable ride of twenty miles to see several geysers that spouted twenty or more feet high, that he was particularly satisfied with what he had seen and was not at all disposed to go thirty miles further to see the same kind of

thing spout a thousand times as much hot water ten times higher. As for the falls of the Yellow Stone and the Canyon below, the same things on a smaller scale were to be seen all about the Mamoth Springs Hotel. As for him he was not going one mile further away from a railway than he then was to see all the geysers, canyons and water falls, not only in Yellow Stone Park but in the entire United States of America.

We spent the next day at the Mamoth Springs and then made our start to see the park proper. A few mile out from the springs we met a couple of trappers. They had a two horse covered wagons and an extra riding horse as an outfit. They were about the toughest looking pair of citizens I had ever seen. They informed us they had inside a Dutchman wanted for killing a young fellow near the springs and were then on their way to hand over the man and get the reward, \$100, offered by the sheriff of Livingston. Our driver told them he rather guessed they had better travel some other road than the one they were then following if they expected to get their man to Livingston with an unbroken neck. Our hairy friends remarked that they recknoened they might be able to stand off any gang that might be hanging around the springs. To which our driver replied that he had noticed about fifty gents who were accustomed to having their own way, hanging around when he left, but if they felt equal to the job he wished them good luck and good morning. "Hold on a second stranger, as you seem to know something about these parts, perhaps you could suggest a more healthy road to Livingston than this here one seems to be just at this present moment". Our driver pointed out with his whip to the right and said, "The trail over there will lead you out," and left them without another word. After we had driven on for a short distance he said: ["I just had to show them a way out, but I just hope to God the vigilantes are on the look out and will get the Dutchman yet." We spent a [sic]

delightful ten days in the park, camped for several nights within one hundred yards of the "Old Faithful". Not the largest by any means but one of the most beautiful of all the geysers. The absolute regularity with which it erupts every 62 or 63 minutes makes it the most satisfactory. While we were there it was moonlight. The great column of steaming water pulsing up until it reached a height of 120 or more feet was indescribably beautiful in the soft light of the full moon. While we were there President Arthur, escorted by General Phil Sheridan with a company of cavalry and one hundred Indian scouts, came in and made camp quite near us.

From the geysers we went on to the falls of the Yellow Stone, 700 feet in height and spent two days viewing the canyon below the falls, one of the nature's most beautiful things. No pen nor brush can do it justice. The longer one lingers near it the greater is the reluctance to leave it. On the western side of the park we took leave of our driver friend who had been with us for nearly two weeks and engaged a large spring wagon with four horses to take us over the continental divide separating the head waters of the Missouri flowing east and south to the gulf of Mexico from the waters of the Snake river flowing to Pacific. The divide between the waters flowing east and west is, apparently a flat plain. Two small streams within fifty yards of each other are pointed out. One flows to the Missouri, the other to the Snake river. A few miles further west Henry's Lake is reached. It is about fifty miles from the park and fifty miles from Beaver canon Idaho. It is a large well-watered plain where, perhaps, the finest trout fishing in the world was to be had at the time we passed through. We spent two days at a hunters camp to enjoy the fishing and see the great herds of elk, black and white tailed deer. In the rougher mountainous country big horns were plentiful at that time. From an elevated spot thousands of heads of game were in sight. The plain is about

8,000 feet above the sea and the time between ice and ice is only about three months. At the time I speak of, it was a sportsman's paradise. I have heard that for years since then there is scarcely a head of game to be seen within a day's ride and instead of trout running from two and one half pound to five pounds in weight, the fisherman is satisfied with one half to a pound.

- The Mormons -

At Beaver canyon we struck the Utah Northern railway and took train for the east via Salt Lake city. We spent two days in seeing the city of the Mormons and the splendid work of reclamation in what appeared to be a barren sage brush desert before they brought water to make it a veritable garden. The Mormon settlements from Idaho south, for several hundreds of miles, are subject to church discipline and government, and in their prosperous and clean well to do appearance, present a wonderful contrast of superiority over the few gentile villages that are seen. In the former everything is clean, prosperous and the people well behaved. In the latter filth and squalor and ruffianly manners. I am writing of nearly forty years ago and conditions may have changed greatly since then. Let us hope that the gentile settlers have approached their unholy neighbors somewhat in the ordinary decencies of life.

From Salt Lake we went directly to the old home in Ohio where father, mother, brothers and sisters were all still alive and well. I found my daughter Helen wonderfully improved in the six months since I left her. She had almost entirely forgotten her Japanese and spoke English as fluently as the ordinary run of youngsters of her age. Blakiston had planned to go to England after making us a short visit but was so much pleased with the people and life in central Ohio that he postponed his departure for a month or more. In fact he did not leave us until he had persuaded my second eldest sister to become Mrs. Blakiston. On his return from England about a year later they were married and lived a

happy life in New Mexico until he died a few years later.

As for myself I had seen many places in the north west where I would have been glad to begin a new life but I dared not take my wife there. The change from Japan to the back woods of the north west would have been too great.

Diplomatic Career.

A fortunate circumstance brought about the creation by the U.S. Congress of the posts of Second Secretary of Legation for the Tokio and Peking Legations and President Arthur was good enough to appoint me to Tokio and Mr. Rockhill to Peking. So in the spring of 1884 I left the U.S. the second time for Japan to take up a post for which I was about as poorly qualified by previous training as any poor mortal could very well be. But I determined to fit myself for the new requirements if it were possible to do so. I soon found that the first requisite was to ascertain what the other fellows were doing and what they were doing it for. To make friends wherever possible, to put on no side at all but to defer, when possible, to those who did. To get to know every detail of Court etiquette in order to be of use to a new chief on arrival and to know every one he was likely to meet and to keep him posted in regard to social duties and engagements. To be always ready with our views on important matters when asked to give them but to be shy of volunteering them without very grave or urgent reasons for doing so. To so absolutely gain the confidence of your chief that he would always call for your views on any question if only to ascertain if it has been fully considered. I was very fortunate from the beginning in my relations with the several chiefs under whom I served. Her Imperial Majesty the Empress was pleased to receive my wife very kindly, thus establishing her position with the Court ladies

and the higher circles of Tokio society. Her friendly relations with the ladies of Tokio gave me a footing in the social life of a class of Japanese that it would have been difficult, otherwise, to have obtained. She, who had been my comrade through many years of Hokkaido life which would have been indeed lonely without her, adopted the requirements of Court etiquette and the laws of Tokio society seemingly without effort. In 1888 she became ill and died in October of that year. For months after I could take but, little interest in life and had it not been for the kind support and sympathy of Mr. Mansfield, secretary of legation and son-in-law to Mr. Hubbard, then minister, I should have resigned my post and returned to America. But time the great healer did its work and my interest in Japan, its people and my connection with them, revived and I remained at my post.

Mr. Hubbard was succeeded by Mr. Swift of California in 1889 and the same year I was appointed secretary of legation by Mr. Harrison, then President. The spring of 1890 Mr. Swift died suddenly and for eighteen months I was Charge d'Affaires until 1891 when Mr. Coombs of California was appointed minister and took charge the same autumn. Mr. Cleveland was again elected President in 1892 and after his inauguration in 1893 appointed me minister to Japan. I immediately applied for leave of absence to visit America and within ten days after my appointment left Tokio in order to relieve Mr. Coombs of the embarrassment of having his successor in Tokio before he was prepared to leave. My appointment had come not only as a surprise to him but to me also. While I knew that certain powerful influences were working for me in America I did not believe they were strong enough to overcome the political pressure that delegations from California and Pennsylvania were exerting to secure the place for their respective states: Perhaps the President, not wishing

to offend either one of these parties by appointing the candidate of either, decided to make an appointment entirely outside of politics and selected me on recommendations he had received of my fitness for the post and on my record in the department of state. However that may be I went to America, was cordially received by the President and Judge Gresham, then Secretary of State and spent a delightful month with my daughter, then a girl of fifteen and with my mother, brothers and sisters. My father had died two years before.

So I left home the third time for Japan but under what changed conditions. Before I had gone almost as an adventurer, I now went as the envoy of my country to the highest post that an American could, at that time, fill abroad. During my term of four years as minister my relations with the Japanese authorities and a hundred of others in private life were of the most cordial nature and I have reason to believe served to strengthen the good and friendly relations already existing between the two countries.

- The Foreign Mode in Tokio -

But I am anticipating. From 1885, everything foreign was the rage at Court and on the social life of Tokio. Entertainments of all kinds in foreign style were the thing. Balls, fancy dress and plain were of weekly occurrence. Garden parties and receptions were almost of [sic] daily affairs. Greatly to be regretted the costume of the Court ladies was changed. The old beautiful court dress that added so much to the charm of the Cherry Blossom and Chrysanthemum garden parties, gave place to costumes from Paris, for those who could afford it and to horrid imitations for those who could not. The Buto-kai or society for the acquirement of European forms of Court etiquette was organized. It had a membership of perhaps 200 and met twice a month at the Rokumeikwan. Countess, afterwards Princess, Ito was its president; Marchioness Nabeshima, Countess Inouye,

Countess Toda, and in fact all the ladies and gentleman that formed the social life of Tokio at that time were active members. A few foreigners were admitted to membership. Baroness Sannomiya and Miss Hayes were members. My wife was a member and I was admitted to membership on her account, I presume, as I never was particularly ornamental at such gatherings. The receptions began at about 9 o'clock in the evening by Countess Ito who would be seated on a raised dais. She would be approached in the manner prescribed at Court and after reception the members would withdraw from the presence in the same formal way, Court etiquette being observed throughout. After the reception, dancing would be in order. A military band furnished excellent music. About 11:30 p.m. an excellent cold supper was served ending the function at midnight.

The Buto-kai introduced so many innovations into the social observances that had hitherto governed the relations between young people of opposite sex that it was difficult for them to decide where the requirements of decorum ended and immodesty began. For instance, until then it had always been considered indelicate for young men and women, not very closely connected, to meet and associate freely and familiarly together. It would have been highly improper for a young lady to take the hand of a strange young man and as for the contact required in round dances the idea of such a thing was absolutely indecent. Yet, such was the extreme desire to imitate everything foreign in fashion and decorum that the training and traditions of Japanese ladies and gentlemen for generations seemed to be at least ignored if not forgotten. Fortunately the evils resulting from the foolishly conceived and badly governed meetings of the Buto-kai were so quickly recognized by the exalted personages who had in their ill advised desire to do away with old Japan and Europeanize the country as quickly as possible, that its meetings were discontinued within less than a year from their beginning. There were another very

potent reason why foreign social ways and modes of life should not take the place in a large degree of the old established customs of Japan. That was the matter of expense. The cost of maintaining Japanese establishments as they were, and are, must continue as a matter of course. To add the cost of foreign establishments of even modest dimensions would have entailed an increased expense that even the wealthiest would have found embarrassing.

So the excessive craze for everything foreign that was at its zenith about 1886 began to decline and the beauties of their own old customs, ceremonies and dress together with the fitness of old social restraints for the government of Japanese social life began to re-assert itself. Common sense began to take control in place of one of those extraordinary mental delusions that, for a time, may lead a people into the greatest folly.

Unfortunately one folly had been consummated that could not be rectified. The substitution for the beautiful old court costume of the ugly, ever changing fashions of dress of Europe. Oh! The pity of it! To change the magnificent costumes that adorned the ladies of the Court and lent an added dignity and beauty to every occasion on which they appeared, for the female raiment of the west, was an unforgivable crime against good taste. Had there been a reason of state for the change it might have been accepted with sorrow as unavoidable, but there was no reason for it at all. It was a part of the work of young fools who had been sent abroad to study western ways and manners and in the glamour and glitter of what they saw became ashamed of their own country and of whatever it differed from what was considered the proper thing in the west. It was a time when for fear of missing something desirable for them

to secure from the west the Japanese seemed ready to accept all that was foreign and discard whatever had been theirs for thousands of years. They had not yet found their place under the sun and were reaching out in all directions for a rock upon which to establish themselves. It was a time when Japan was not seriously considered by Europe or America. They were not serious competitors in trade, extra territoriality was in full force; an European or American could commit the most abominable crime without liability to Japanese law. The Japanese police could apprehend him, it is true, but only to hand him over to the authorities of his own country for trial and punishment. Militarily speaking they were bound hand and foot. Being so advantageously situated from a western point of view, they were petted and made much of. What a nice polite people they were! How charming in their hospitality! What lovely scenery! What lovely works of art and how cheap! But as for recognizing the progress made by Japan in changes of government to meet the requirements of the west, her judiciary, her laws and administration there of, the excellence of which were freely recognized, there was nothing done for more than ten years after the United States had practically admitted that the time for the abolition of extra-territoriality had come. And we who pride ourselves upon our justice to all men, on our readiness to protect the weak from the strong, could not see our way to the doing of a simple act of justice to Japan until Great Britain and the European powers were prepared to do likewise. In our boasted acts of generosity to Japan can we point to one where a sacrifice of value was made on our part? It is true that in this respect we have a better record than the rest of the world, but none of the other great powers have, so far as I can remember, pretended to be guided by anything but self interest in their dealings with this country.

- Immigration Question -

It was not after the Chinese and then the Russian war that the western world began to take Japan seriously. Since her success in

those wars she has ceased to be the charming youth with beautiful manners and works of art with whom it is delightful to visit and exchange compliments and expressions of admiration. She has found her place and in all matters pertaining to the east must be reckoned with. Great Britain recognized this years ago and made Japan her ally. We, instead of doing the same allowed a lot of California gas bags to make endless trouble and endanger the peaceful development of the welfare of our own country and the peoples of the east. There is no reason whatever for the slightest feeling of ill will between the peoples of the two countries. The immigration question has been practically solved for years. If the good citizens of California see fit to confiscate the property of the few thousand Japanese already settled among them and show the same spirit of toleration towards them that the Turk exhibits towards the Armenian, it is a matter for the enlightened people of the United States to determine whether such treatment of the helpless stranger within their gates is consistent with their honor or not. It is within the power of the United States to act as she sees fit in regard to Asiatics or any other people admitted as residents or visitors. But unless she uses that power and right generously and stands ready to protect the meanest stranger within her borders from the brutal demands of demagogues who seem to be as free of common sense as they are of all feeling of national honor, then let this blatant sentimental cant of love of justice, desire to benefit humanity, love of freedom and equality among men, of which we have heard so much during the past few years, cease as it only proclaims us a nation of hypocrites and liars.

It seems to be the general belief in America, Australia and Canada that if the bars were down, the entire Japanese population of 60,000,000 people would be ready to emigrate to one or all of those favored lands.

Whereas, as a matter of fact, the going of every able bodied man or woman from this country is a distinct loss to Japan. Japan is not over populated, the demand for labor today that cannot be filled shows that there is ample room for all and will be for generations to come. There is a growing belief among the leading men of Japan that the policy of this government should be to discourage emigration and be ready to combat the demand for Japanese labor that is certain to come from abroad within the next few years. There is work to do for every able bodied man and woman in Japan. In the development of her shipping, her home industries and manufactures and her foreign trade, Japan has urgent need of everyone of her subjects. This talk of over popoulation and the necessity of finding a place where the surplus may go is utter nonsense. They are everyone of them needed at home. The constantly increasing demand for labor in the new industries that are springing up in all parts of the country amply proves this. Not only are men in demand but women and children can find employment at wages not dreamed of a few years ago. To such a degree has this gone that the government has found it necessary to step in and regulate the limit of child labor. There is and always will be a venturesome class of young Japanese that alluring reports of fortunes to be gathered abroad will induce to leave their homes to better their conditions in life. But the number of this class is an exceedingly small portion of the whole and as the demand for their services at home increases, the number of would be emigrants must decrease. Fifty years ago the population of Japan was about 30,000,000, whereas today it is more than double that number. Economically speaking, the country was over populated fifty years ago in the sense that the labor of the country was far in excess of the industrial demand, whereas the industrial demand today is far in excess of the supply of labor. There is every indication that industrial development in Japan will continue to increase at a far more rapid rate than the population

of the country. If I am correct in this assertion it is absurd to say Japan is overpopulated. I remember taking part in a discussion about thirty years ago, when the entire trade of Japan, exports and imports, had reached the yearly value of about \$75,000,000, if that was not about the limit that could be reasonably expected. The majority of foreigners resident here seemed to be decidedly of the opinion that it was. They asked where the increased production was to come from? And if there was no increased production, how could there be increased exports or means to buy more imports than the country was then taking? At that time it was difficult to demonstrate that the resources of the country were not fully developed but today we see that since that time the foreign trade of the country has developed from \$75,000,000 to \$500,000,000. The same conditions should obtain in China, but misgovernment and oppression of the people in that country for generations has so completely killed the national spirit of the masses that a re-generation of China seems to be an almost hopeless proposition for many generations to come.

- The Democratic Idea in Japan -

It seems to me that where Englishmen and Americans utterly fail to understand the difference in thought between the east and the west is clearly shown in their conception of a popular form of government and the oriental conception of the same thing. In Japan where individual liberty and equality under the law is fully recognized, in practice and spirit the feudal system of class distinction is also as fully recognized today as it was fifty years ago. The safety of Japan's social organization is dependent upon the maintenance of class distinction. The basis of government, of law and order, is the recognition of the supreme authority of the Emperor. His will must be supreme. The people's representatives in the Diet exercise certain functions of government delegated to them by the Emperor. But it should not be forgotten that delegated authority may, at

any time, be recalled. There is no such thing as party government in Japan as it is understood in the United States and Great Britain. The so called parties here, are but cliques. The followers of prominent political men who by their ability have gained prominence as advocates of change of policy in administration. The country is governed by the Emperor and his advisers. The genro or Council of elder statesmen behind the Throne that appear so prominently whenever a serious crisis presents itself, are the real government of Japan and also its safety. There has never been the least dissatisfaction exhibited by the great mass of the people of Japan towards the government furnished them by the supreme control power, which, in its relation with the people, has always been benevolent and paternal. Go where one will in Japan no dissatisfaction with the form of government will be heard expressed by the masses. Criticism enough of the abominable administration of local affairs which are indeed sadly in need of improvement, will be heard, but no expression of dissatisfaction with his individual status as a Japanese subject will be heard. This outcry for universal suffrage is the work of politicians, mischievous agitators and misguided students with the vaguest notion regarding suffrage, universal or limited. The existing form of government in Japan is the outcome of thousands of years of education and practice. The people have become so deeply imbued with its requirements that it has become a part of their religion - and unquestioned guide in their dealings with others and in what they believe to be their individual rights. Their former loyalty to their secular feudal lord and adoration of their spiritual lord the Mikado were, by the restoration merged into an individual loyalty to the Emperor that occupies a paramount place over any mere preference for political party or leader. The feudal spirit that was divided among many daimios has become united in a national spirit that is still as feudal in character as it was

sixty years ago. The fealty has become united not changed. I do not mean to say that the love and respect of the people for their former lords has disappeared, far from it, next to their supreme devotion to the Emperor, their esteem and respect for the family of their feudal lord comes next.

The social fabric of Japan is communistic in its organization. Individuality is completely lost in the family authority. The paternal authority is recognized by the children as long as the parents live. While by Japanese law a child reaches maturity at the age of twenty and at that age becomes fully responsible to the state for his or her acts and is free to decide for themselves in all matters pertaining to their manhood or womanhood, as a matter of fact the family authority is so fully recognized that few Japanese have the courage or inclination to dispute it. Marriages are arranged by the family and while it is seemingly easy to obtain a divorce, it is, as a matter of fact, almost impossible to do so without the consent of the family council unless the recalcitrant party is fully prepared to accept the full displeasure of the family authority. The family organization is more complete in the rural districts where, as a rule, the subvillages are so closely related by inter-marriage that they are all of one or two recognized families governed by heads and council. This family authority has no connection with the authority exercised by the state through its laws enforced by its police and judicial authorities. But the organization of family government is the result of centuries of custom and has become a fixed part of Japanese life. In so far as they are practicable with modern conditions, the customs and traditions of old Japan are recognized by modern Japanese law. In the cities and centers of industries the population has, to some degree, broken loose from old restrictions and customs. Modern requirements have brought into existence a roving population that has lost all sense of subservience to family restraint. Their old feeling of respect for the

elders of their homes and for the families of their old feudal lords has become greatly weakened if not entirely lost by association with other members of the class that is rapidly forming what may be designated as the skilled labor organizations of today. The tendency is to organize into labor unions for mutual advantage and protection and to secure individual voice in the selection of government representatives and the making of laws. It is from this class that the opposition politicians find their greater support and from whom the recent outcry for universal suffrage principally comes. The present manifestations of social unrest that are growing more and more apparent are but the reaction of the world-wide terrible social upheaval that is distracting mankind. Its seriousness in Japan is more apparent than real. The conservative element of this country which includes the entire rural population, the back bone of the country, is unaffected by it. The froth of the cities which makes such an outcry for all sorts of ill considered and dangerous changes may be troublesome but can never be dangerous so long as the steady support of the conservative element of the country remains as it is today in sympathy and support of the real government of Japan.

JAPANESE ATTITUDE TOWARDS FOREIGNERS.

It seems to be the belief of many foreigners that the Japanese are secretive and wanting in frankness and truthfulness in their dealings and, if not absolute liars by nature, are at least [^]deceitful and untrustworthy. My long life in Japan, many years of which in [^]most intimate association with all classes of her people, entitles me to speak with some authority in regard to the national characteristics of the Japanese as a people. I have no hesitancy in declaring that far from being the [^]deceitful _✓

untruthful and dishonest people as charged by many writers, they will compare most favorably in these respects with Europeans and Americans. The sweeping charges of immorality made against the Japanese, as we understand the meaning of that word, are as absurd as it would be to claim that they are all saints and that when they err it is in all innocence and from lack of knowledge of evil.

In early days, at all open ports the shop keepers with whom foreign tourists, in particular, came in contact were, with few exceptions absolutely lacking in commercial integrity. It was fear of loss of trade to less greedy competitors that restrained them at all. Since the opening of the entire country to foreign residence and trade, conditions among the small trades has greatly changed for the better, but doubtless there is still much room for improvement. But when it is remembered that before the restoration the trader held a very low position socially, that next to the coolie and was expected to overcharge his customers in proportion to their position and ability to be cheated, it is not surprising that the shopping experiences of foreigners in early days were very unsatisfactory and that Japanese shop keepers were, as a class, universally designated as unmitigated rogues and cheats. But from time immemorial the integrity of the Japanese artisan has been recognized by all who have had dealings with them. They were as jealous of their reputation for honest work and honest prices as the same class of workmen in Europe or America.

With the opening of Japan to foreign trade which for many years as entirely in the hands of foreign firms, an entirely different class of Japanese merchants and business men began to appear. In the beginning they acted merely as the agents of foreign firms but, little by little, they began, in a small way, direct trade with foreign countries on their own

account. In time they established their own branches at all important ports in foreign countries. Today it is the Japanese merchant[s] that control the trade of Japan and the foreign houses represented in Japan by branches are practically, only the agents of the Japanese.

The Japanese merchant of today is as far removed from the despised shop keeper of early days as day is from night. I think I am not exaggerating in stating that he compares favorably with the same class in Europe and the United States. He and his compeers in mining and all branches of manufacturing industry have made for themselves a name for straight dealing that is respected by all foreigners in Japan who have had business relations with them. Some years since, I was present at an entertainment given by a branch of the Mitsu Bishi Co., at which many foreigners were present. One of the most prominent of these, a very highly respected Englishman, took [the] occasion to say that of all the commercial houses with which he had had business relations, the Mitsu Bishi was the only firm in the world, not excepting those of his own country, whose word he preferred to their bond. He said that when he had their bond he was certain of getting exactly what it called for. If their word only, he was sure of receiving more than was promised.

- The Feudal Spirit -

The organizations of all large trading, industrial, manufacturing and producing Japanese firms is certainly on a far more liberal scale or basis than is dreamed of in Europe or America. The relations between the company and its employees is entirely different. The employee feels that he is part of the firm and that his advancement and well being in it rests entirely with himself. He knows that he is secure in his living for life. That after serving the company for a fixed number of years he will be entitled to retire on a good pension as long as ^{he} lives. If he is disabled by accident or disease, the insurance fund set apart for

that purpose, will not only support him during his own life, but also his children until they are of sufficient age to support themselves in employment furnished them by the company.

In the matter of bonuses Japanese firms are liberal to a degree that would be considered absurd by foreign firms. When the year's business has been unusually profitable as has been the case for several years past, after a liberal dividend has been allowed to share holders and reserve adequately provided for, the surplus is almost entirely absorbed in bonus to employees. Last year bonus paid to their employees by all the principal firms in Japan was very large. This recognition is not confined to the high grade employees only. Every workman in the permanent service of the company benefits in a proportionate degree. Naturally the relations existing between employee and employer in Japan are entirely different from those prevailing in the west. Here there is a feeling of mutual respect and esteem, possibly the outgrowth of self interest towards the company they all serve.

The relations between master and servant in Japan are also entirely different from those existing in Europe and America. The servant in Japan is an humble member of the family and, unless guilty of gross misconduct, is as much a permanent fixture in the family as the legitimate members thereof. Such relations in the higher families naturally influences the social relations of all classes. The forms of etiquette practiced by high class Japanese are naturally observed and followed by the lower classes as closely as is consistent with their position and calling in life. The expressions of courtesy manifested by all well bred Japanese in their relations with one another in their daily life is the outgrowth of respect for the feelings of others and an earnest desire to please. The

Japanese are an exceedingly amiable people, always ready to go more than half way to secure the good will of foreigners in which they are influenced more by a feeling of good will and good fellowship than by any thought of advantage to themselves. Always ready to assist one another when in trouble I have never yet known of a case where the helping hand was not extended to the stranger in distress. In the recent wars in which they have been engaged, compare their treatment of enemy subjects residing among them with the treatment extended by the most civilized nations in Europe. Compare their treatment of prisoners of war with that of the same enlightened Christian nations. In a thousand ways the Japanese have manifested their desire to live in peace with all men and by their acts, have approached nearer to the observance of peace on earth and good will amongst men as commanded by Christ, than many of the great nations that profess to be the followers of his teachings and send thousands of missionaries to the east to impart the true faith. Only a few months since a senator of the United States in the Senate chamber at Washington spoke of the Japanese who only fifty years ago were emerging from barbarism! That such a colossal fool should live and even be a senator of the United States did not strike me as very extraordinary but that such a foul, brutal insult to a friendly people, whose civilisation was far advanced when we had none at all, was not rebuked was permitted to pass unchallenged by a body of men selected for their ability and enlightenment to form the Senate of the United States caused a feeling of shame for my country that I can never forget.

The past few years the slogan of politicians, professors, statesmen and students has been democracy as the sovereign remedy for all ills that afflict mankind! Of the hundreds of wise men who have written and spoken on this subject are there any two whose definition of democracy is

the same? And if so, would they recommend that the democratic form of government that has been success in one country should be established in all other countries? For example take the democracy of the United States under which the people of that country have grown and prospered wonderfully for 140 years, would they apply it to Japan? The American republic was forced into existence by the misgovernment of the mother country, not by an uprising brought about by sentimental theorists. The people of thirteen colonies found themselves forced into a position that obliged them to unite in the establishment of a form of government for their own protection and well being. As long as our country was a poor and struggling nation our republic retained all the simplicity and representative form that our forefathers intended: "A government of the people, by the people and for the people". Can any American say that it is the same today? Besides the splendid sacrifices made by the people in their blood and treasure when called upon to save the world in a terrific crisis not yet safely weathered, what voice have the people of the United States had in the making of peace and readjustment of affairs that may so vitally affect our future? They were from the beginning in the hands of an autocrat who time and again declared that he would act as he thought fit, absolutely disregarding the popular will and other branches of the government elected by the people. The advocates of liberalism, as it is designated, speak of it as the spirit of democracy and human brotherhood. American democracy has certainly taught individualism, it has inculcated the belief in "every man for himself and the devil take the hindmost", but as for the human brotherhood as practiced in Japan for the past two thousand years, the idea is preached in our churches but its practice is left to charitable institutions maintained for the purpose. In the civil service of the United States what care or provision is made for the public servant who

from age and illness is unable to continue his duties. He is ruthlessly cast out as worn-out shoe is discarded without care or thought for the suffering of one who has spent his life in the service of his country. The same practice prevails in regard to the servants of our industrial concerns. The management claim that they pay liberally for services rendered and if their employees are careful they can retire on a competency before old age overtakes them. But if the employee is not of a careful or saving nature or that he has made bad investments that has swallowed up his savings, what then? Oh! We are sorry for him but cannot be held responsible for failures of that kind. But under [the] conditions existing in Japan today as they have existed for tens of centuries, they would be held responsible. Under Japan's feudal system of government and family life, every man's place, occupation and responsibilities were fixed and he was provided for from the cradle to the grave. It is true his freedom as an individual was very much restricted. This brought about the desire for greater personal freedom, in the student class and among the residents of cities where foreign ways are more in evidence in the life of the people. The harsher requirements of the old feudal days may be modified to conform to the change of recent years, but to advocate the abolition of the old feudal life that has been the very spirit of the people of Japan for twenty-five hundred years for an ideal democracy untried and misunderstood is, to my mind, the height of folly. What purpose have the advocates of universal suffrage in view? To add several millions of ignorant voters to the large number of slightly less ignorant persons who now exercise that privilege cannot result in a more intelligent House of representatives being secured. If not in the belief that it can, what object its advocates have in view? Surely it cannot be believed that the mere privilege of voting will make better men of those who now have not the privilege.

- Political Developments -

Universal suffrage has certainly not had that desirable effect on character in the United States. In what respect has it improved the ten millions of negroes, two millions of whom have the right to vote? And what benefit have real Americans derived from the privilege granted to ignorant foreigners who value their right to vote only as something they can sell to the highest bidder. Eminent professors and wisemen of this country are speaking much just now of public opinion, of its condemning the action of the government in this, that, and the other. Of its demands for party government & &. Just what do they mean by public opinion? If they mean the opinion of the highly educated classes, lawyers, scientists, college professors and the leading politicians who are just now out and want to get in, I can understand their contention. If they mean the Japanese people en masse, they are talking utter blatant nonsense. The average Japanese farmer for instance, knows nothing of political issues and cares less. When legislation or decrees affect his personal interests he is not slow in expressing his opinion in regard thereto, favorably or unfavorably, as it may affect him. He detests military service, but recognizes that the safety of the Empire demands it. He is a lover of peace and disposed to live in good fellowship with the entire world, but he detests injustice and is quick to resent disregard of what he believes to be his rights. In short the Japanese are a kindly disposed, generous people, if left undisturbed by agitators, visionary theorists and so-called reformers, native and foreign. They will in time, develop along Japanese lines into a great people and nation.

But the Japanese of today was a civilized being three thousand years ago and the teachings, traditions and gradual development of thirty

centuries

~~countries~~ has made him what he is now. He is not an European, American or Chinaman. He is a Japanese and any attempt to bring about the "pangs of spiritual rebirth" as one eminent professor claims they are now undergoing, must end either in failure or national disaster. He must advance as a Japanese or be absorbed by a stronger civilization. Bolshevism has already started on its eastern march. When it reaches the borders of Korea Japan must be strong enough to check its onward march or be overwhelmed in its flood.

Another eminent professor of the Imperial University contributes an article entitle[d]: "New thought in Japan: The growth of Liberalism and its eventual Triumph". If these eminent scholars would turn their eyes from the beautiful picture, in fancy, of a new Japanese democracy living in peace and loving good will with all the world, to the terrible cloud that is even now looming in the west, they might give more thought to the safety of Japan as she is today and even think better of militarism as they call it, and recognize the wisdom of maintaining their military preparedness. The leading men of Japan know they have nothing to fear from America, that an armed conflict between the two countries, if not impossible, is extremely improbable. But they do recognize the danger threatening from the directly opposite direction. The Russians have for generations been striving for southern outlets to the sea and as Russian future development will, it seems, be towards the east, as the line of least resistance seems to be towards that direction, her interests and those of Japan must meet in conflict before many years have passed. If there ever was a time when every able bodied son of Japan should be trained to defend the national existence of their countries^y, that time is now. It is not militarism that demands it, but simple prudence and common sense.

In the archives of our embassy is ample evidence of the open, frank and perfectly friendly relations that have from the beginning governed the intercourse between America and Japan. My personal relations with all the eminent men of Japan at that time, including Prince Ito, Marquis Inouye (the elder) Count Mutsu, Count Hayashi and many other prominent statesmen who have passed to the other shore, left nothing to be desired. And I know that the relations of American representatives who preceeded me and of those who came after, have been just as cordial and satisfactory with the representative men of their time as was the case in mine. There was no idea of concealment in our intercourse. Our object always was to ascertain the truth in any question affecting the interests of the two countries in order to ascertain the proper action to be taken, if action was necessary to prevent misunderstanding. As far as my own experience goes, I can testify that in government policy and in business relations with rivals in trade, the Japanese are inclined to be remarkably frank and open in their dealings with foreigners and their own people alike.

- Work during the Japan-China War -

At the beginning of the Japanese-Chinese war, 1894-95, with the consent of the President, I arranged that the American Legations at Tokio and Peking might be freely made use of by the Japanese and Chinese governments as a channel of indirect communication between the two governments. Numberless questions arose relating to the trade and welfare of the people of both countries that had no connection with the prosecution of the war that could be adjusted only through the good offices of a third party. For instance I would receive a note from Count Mutsu relative to trade or some other question affecting the interests of Japanese or Chinese. I would at once telegraph the note word for word to Mr. Denby at Peking, using

the secret code of the American government. Mr. Denby would send a translation of the note to the Chinese Tsung Li Yamen with a covering note. Within a day or so he would receive a note addressed to himself, from the Chinese giving the views of the Chinese Government on the matter he had communicated to them. This he would, in turn, telegraph to me in code which I would at once translate and send to Count Mutsu. The frequency and length of notes that passed through the two legations was surprising. Particularly towards the end of the war the channel of communication which we had provided was freely used by both belligerents to bring about negotiations for peace and I am confident that our good offices were the means of shortening the war by several months. Many of the notes received for transmission were of such confidential nature that I deemed it best to make use of but one member of the legation in handling them and that was Dr. W.N. Whitney, interpreter of legation who was very reliable and careful in such matters. Many of these notes would be of 500 or 600 words, several of 1000 or more were received for transmission. The frequency of their receipt was such that I did not feel at liberty to absent myself from the legation for more than a few hours at a time during the entire period of the war. As a matter of fact I did not pass one night away from the legation during that entire time. Frequently notes would reach me when Dr. Whitney was away or not available. In such case I was under the necessity of putting the note in cipher myself. Any one who has been obliged to code a note of five or six hundred words, word for word, in order that when translated by the receiver of the telegram the note will read exactly as the original, will understand what considerable work is necessary. Several times day light has found me still at work on such a message received the evening before.

That our work was appreciated by both the Japanese and Chinese governments was evidenced by the desire expressed by both governments to

confer upon Mr. Denby and myself the highest decorations ever conferred upon Ministers Plenipotentiary at that time. As decorations from foreign governments could not be accepted by officers in the service of the United States except under permission granted by special act of Congress, we respectfully requested both governments to withhold the offer and thereby relieve us of the mortification of being obliged to decline the acceptance of so great an ^{honor} ~~hour~~.

End of My Diplomatic Career

My story practically ends with the termination of my diplomatic career in 1897. I was relieved of my post in the same brutal manner that thousands of better men than myself have experienced at every change of administration. In my case the Department of State had not the decency to notify me of the appointment of my successor Mr. Buck. It was left to that gentleman to find his way to Tokio and the legation as best [as] he could, introduce himself to me and exhibit his credentials together with my letter of re-call. And it was left to me, without instructions, to accompany him to Kioto, present him to the Emperor and, at the same time take leave of His Majesty myself.

I believe it would be difficult to find a parallel in any civilized country in the world of such an absence of dignity and unqualified brutality as was exhibited by our Department of State on that occasion.

I will only add that shortly after my recall I went to America and, having business in Washington, called on our new Secretary of State Mr. Sherman of Ohio, my own State. He received me with seeming pleasure and much to my astonishment remarked that, doubtless I was about to leave for

my post as our new Minister to Japan! In utter bewilderment I informed him I had just come from Japan where I had assisted my successor Mr. Buck in the transfer of the post. Mr. Sherman apologized for the blunder and said that in the multitude of changes in foreign posts recently made, he had got my name and Mr. Buck's confused. I then noticed that the poor old gentleman was sadly changed, mentally, from the brilliant Senator and recognized Republican leader of Ohio.

Since that time, the story of my continued residence in Japan, my second marriage and happy life until death again left me alone, my efforts to support my children and myself would interest no one and would be a rather sad tale for me to tell.

- The End -